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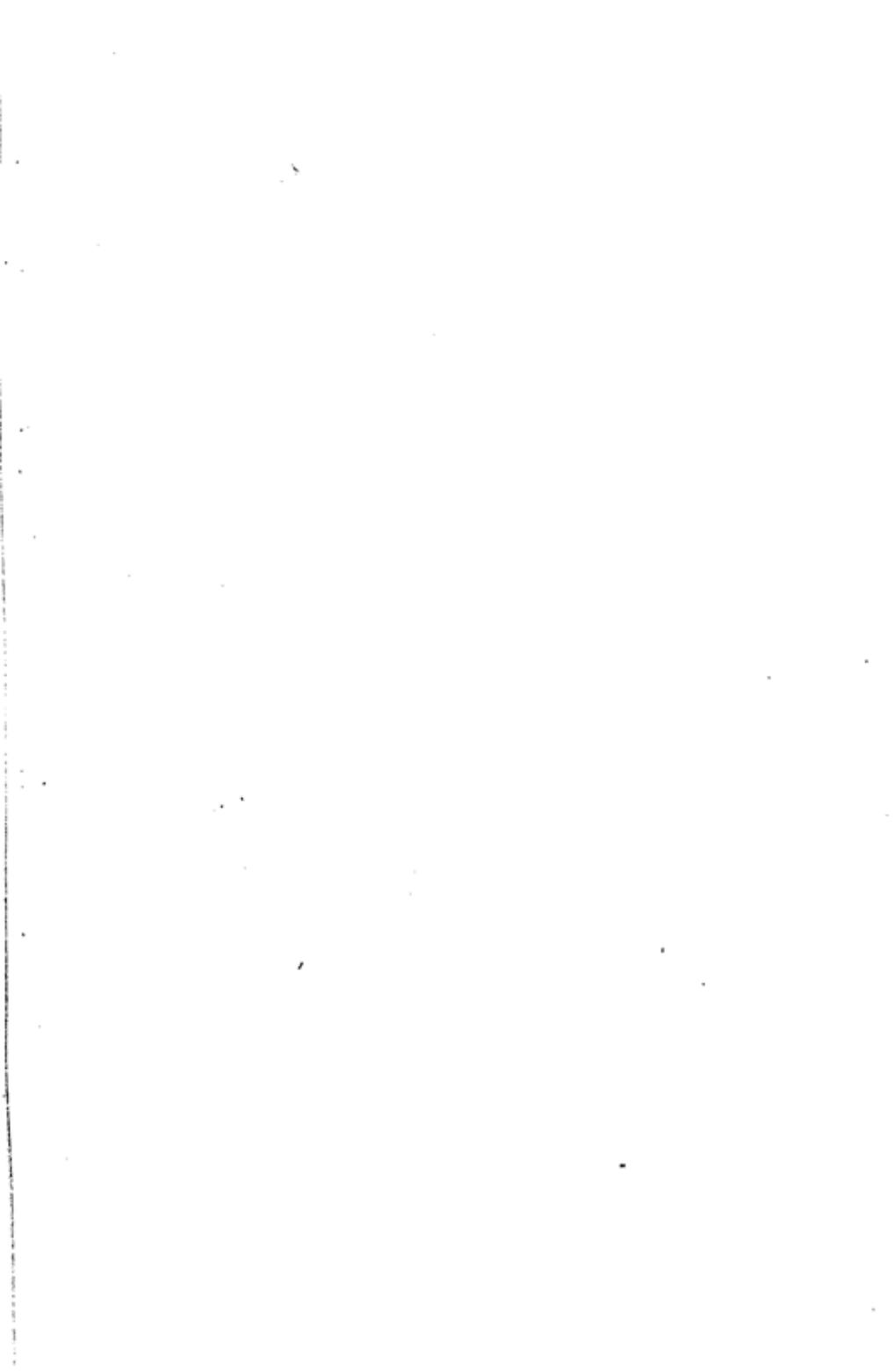
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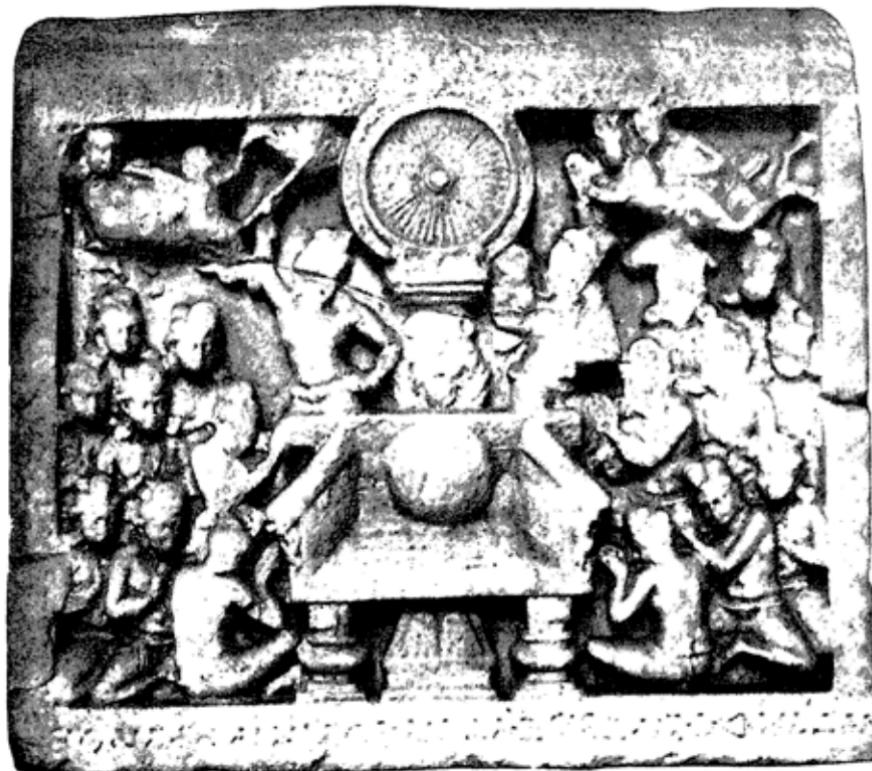
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THE BUDDHA'S PHILOSOPHY

COMPILED BY G. F. ALLEN

Buddha's Words of Wisdom





Panel from carved coping at Āmaravatī, ruined Buddhist city in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh, of approximately the first century After Christ.

Probably the work of the *Andhakas*, the Andhran branch or subsect of the Mahāsaṅghikas, it depicts devotees venerating three of the emblems by which Gotama was represented prior to the time of Buddha images—the footprints, the vacant preaching-throne, and the wheel or solar disc.

(By kind permission of the British Museum)

THE BUDDHA'S PHILOSOPHY

SELECTIONS FROM THE PĀLI CANON
AND AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

G. F. ALLEN
(Y. Siri Nyana)

20047

FOREWORD BY
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TO M.S.

EKAMEKASSA PAÑHASSA YATHĀ BUDDHENĀ
DESITAM TATHĀ YO PAÑIPAJJEYYA, GACCHE
PĀRAM APĀRATO,
APĀRĀ PĀRAM GACCHEYYA BHĀVENTO MAG-
GAM UTTAMAM.
MAGGO SO PĀRANGAMANĀYA;
TASMĀ 'PĀRĀYANAM' ITI.
PĀRĀYANAM ANUGĀYISSAM . . .

They who live according to the teaching of the Buddha
cross to the Further Shore,
by keeping to the Way they go from this shore to that.
It is the way to the beyond;
it is 'the Way Across'.
I will indicate the way across. . . .

Pārāyana Epilogue (Sn vs. 1129-31)

FOREWORD

When viewed in all its manifestations during more than two millennia, the religion of Buddhism shows a surprising range of beliefs and practices. It includes the atheistic philosophy of the Theravāda Buddhism of Ceylon and South-East Asia, the pantheism of Mahāyāna, the simple theism of the Japanese Amidist sects, and the black magic of the tantricists. Against the stoical rather pessimistic outlook of Hinayāna we may balance the warm nature-mysticism of Zen, against the Erastian Buddhism of Asoka the theocratic Buddhism of Tibet. Wherever the religion has been taken it has been given a new slant, according to the character and needs of the people who have adopted it. In this, and in its humanity and wise tolerance, has lain much of its strength.

For over fifty years Buddhism has been gaining support in the West. The professed Buddhists in Europe are still few, but their numbers and influence increase, and as Buddhism spreads in the West its character must inevitably be adapted to the special needs and cultural background of Europe and America. It is in this connexion that I believe the book of my friend Mr G. F. Allen to be particularly valuable. Unlike most Western Buddhists, Mr Allen has had first-hand experience of Buddhism in the lands where it arose, and has studied and practised Buddhism in the way in which earnest seekers after truth have studied and practised it in Asia for over two thousand years—as a monk in a Buddhist monastery. This book, therefore, has special claim to importance as the interpretation of a man of the West, who has taken to heart the lessons of the East, and has moulded them to fit the needs of his own Western personality. 'As the ocean has one flavour only, the flavour of salt, so has my doctrine one flavour only, the flavour of emancipation'; these words attributed to the Buddha himself may well form the leitmotiv of any work on Buddhism. But the ocean has its many aspects, its depths and shallows, its storms and calms, its blue tropical bays and its grey northern seas; so Buddhism has its many possible interpretations. For the European or American reader the interpretation of Mr Allen will be particularly rewarding.

A. L. BASHAM

London, November 1954

Reader in the History of India
in the University of London

PREFACE

A number of the most ancient available records of the teaching of Gotama the Buddha are found in the books of the Pāli Canon of the Southern School of Buddhism. It is generally accepted that the majority of the earliest Pāli texts are as old, if not older, than the Sanskrit works from which many of the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist scriptures of the Northern School were translated. In this study we go to the Pāli sources, and it is from them that the Buddhist scriptural quotations which are given in our book are made.

Some of the ancient Pāli epithets find no equivalent in any specific English words, when a sentence is required to define them; while occasionally the Indian metaphysical concepts themselves are absent from Western thought. For these reasons it has been deemed advisable to retain in our text a few of the fundamental Pāli terms. Definitions of these words are included in the Glossary on pages 19 and 20.

Where it is necessary to give Pāli words in the plural number this is done by the addition of the English 's', since in the Pāli language there is more than one plural suffix.

* * *

I acknowledge, with homage, the kindly instruction given me by *gurus* in India, Burma, and Ceylon. It is with particular pleasure that I acknowledge the courtesy of Miss I. B. Horner, M.A., PH.D., Honorary Secretary of the Pali Text Society, London, in granting me permission to quote the numerous and invaluable publications of that society. The Pāli canonical quotations in the following pages are, however, of my own translation, except in those cases where the P.T.S. references are given. These translations were made by me while I resided in Ceylonese monasteries, when I was able to take full advantage of the scholarship of the Sinhala *theros* who were always ready to lend me their patient assistance: theirs was the superior knowledge of the Pāli, while occasionally I have edited their English. Moreover, I acknowledge gratefully that it has by no means been necessary to start from scratch: I have seen and studied the results of other careful scholars in this field.

Last, but not least, I profess my gratitude to that sincere Buddhist gentleman, Michael A. Samarasinghe, Esq., *dāyaka* of Samara-

sinhāramaya, Telijjawila, Ceylon, for providing me with that rare boon, a quiet abode, where I was enabled to live the hermit life of the Buddhist monk which now seems to me to have been the necessary preamble to the writing of this book.

G. F. ALLEN

Udukawa, Telijjawila, 1953

Osterley, Middlesex, 1955

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GLOSSARY

ARAHANT. Holy One, one who has attained *Nibbāna* by virtue of a Buddha's teaching (as opposed to *Buddhas*, who are self-enlightened). V.l: *Arahanta, Arahan, Arahat, Arhat*.

ĀRYAN. Where the meaning is ethnic the name is spelt with a capital Ā. Otherwise *aryan* is mostly adjectival, with the meaning 'noble', 'ideal', 'pure'.

BHAGAVANT. Lord; designation given by Indians to a great, holy man or teacher. V.l: *Bhagavā*. (Sanskrit: *Bhagavat, Bhagavān*.)

BHIKKHU. An ordained disciple of Gotama, a member of the Order (*Saṅgha*). A Buddhist monk; fem. *bhikkhunī*, nun. (Skt.: *bhikshu*.)

BRAHMA. *Brahman* (neuter), God, the Whole; *Brahmā* (masculine), God, godhead.

BRĀHMAN. *Brāhmaṇa* (Brāhmin: noun and adjective), member of the Aryan priest class. Period in early sacred Indian literature between the Vedas and Upanishads; the books of that period. Brāhmanism: the forerunner of Hinduism.

BUDDHA. A human being who has become fully enlightened; wholly self-Awakened One. 'The Buddha' = Gotama.

BUDDHA-SĀSANA. Buddha teaching, message; the period of years during which this is potent; dispensation.

BUDDHA-VACANA. Buddha word, supposed actual utterance of the Buddha Gotama.

BUDDHISM. The conventional Buddhist religion, embracing all the schools and sects of today.

BUDDHIST. Any person who subscribes to one of the forms of 'Buddhism'.

DHAMMA. Teaching, doctrine, system of philosophy, way of life, 'The Dhamma' = the Buddha's doctrine, the norm. (Skt.: *dharma*.)

GOTAMA. Family name of the Buddha's parents, and his Buddha name as distinguished from those of other Buddhas (Skt.: *Gautama*.)

HINAYĀNA. 'Lesser Vehicle', school of Southern Buddhism (Ceylon, Burma, Siam).

MAHĀYĀNA. 'Great Vehicle.' School of Northern Buddhism (Tibet, China, Japan).

NIBBĀNA. Cessation of the process of becoming; 'blowing out', as of a flame by the wind; release, liberation, tranquillity or peace of mind here and now. (Skt.: *Nirvāṇa*.)

PHILOSOPHY. 'The pursuit of wisdom or of the knowledge of things and their causes.'¹

RELIGION. 'System of faith and worship; human recognition of super-human controlling power and especially of a personal god entitled to obedience.'¹

SADDHAMMA. The true *dhamma*, very *dhamma*; the pristine teaching of Gotama as opposed to later forms of Buddhism.

SĀKYA MUNI. Sākyan sage, *Sākya* being the name of Siddhāttha's Āryan clan and its country. *Muni*: sage; literally, 'Silent One'.

SAMANA. A recluse, an unorthodox ascetic as opposed to the orthodox *brāhmaṇa*. (Skt.: *shramana*.)

SAṄGHA. Society; *Buddha Saṅgha*: order of ordained disciples of the Buddha.

SIDDHĀTTHA. Personal name of Gotama previous to his attaining Buddhahood.

TATHĀGATA. Literally, 'One who has come, or gone, *Thus Far*'; the name by which Gotama Buddha referred to himself after his Awakening.

¹ Oxford English Dictionary.

A list of the ABBREVIATIONS used in this book is given at the end, after the Index.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION: BUDDHA AND DHAMMA

INTRODUCTION: BUDDHA AND DHAMMA

INTRODUCTORY

Who did write *The Sonnets*, *Hamlet*, and the rest of the plays commonly attributed to Shakespeare? Was it really the actor from Stratford-upon-Avon, or was it Lord Bacon, or again, could it have been My Lord of Derby? Or, was it that bad lad Chris Marlowe? A definite controversy exists, and precious little is known about this fellow Will Shakespeare, although he lived but 350 years back—and that was some time after the invention of printing.

Yet Gotama, who is called the most recent of the Buddhas, lived 2,500 years ago. In his day nothing was recorded in writing. The extraordinary thing for us is that we should know anything of the man or of his philosophy. Certainly of Buddhism it can be said that no other subject possesses so vast a literature woven round so slender and fragile a tradition, where over and over again the research student loses himself in a labyrinth of legend.

Man inevitably misrepresents the past: the painful is forgotten, the pleasant is exaggerated. Tradition makes of past events a metaphor, an allegory, until fact becomes fancy, and fancy fact. *L'histoire n'est qu'une fable convenue*, 'for the gods love what is dark' (*Aitareya Upanishad*).

All that has reached us of the original Teaching of the Buddha was passed down orally, through many generations of teacher and pupil, before it came to be committed to writing. What, then, of the Indian upon whose recitations we must depend? Has he changed with the centuries? We know that his memory for the uttered word is, by modern Occidental criteria, quite remarkable; we know also that temperamentally he has no appreciation of chronology, and possesses a flair for exaggeration that sometimes amounts to pure mendacity, and that he is even more credulous than his credulous Western brother—today we find a sidelight on this in the Indian's acceptance of trick photography in his native movies. And to all this we have to add the unbalance of mind that fanaticism gives to the religieux.

So we see that we have to remain strictly sceptical. It will appeal

to some readers to learn that in so doing we shall be complying with one of the Buddha's most emphatic injunctions.

Gotama is certainly an historical personage: the author of a unique Way of Living, of a unique Way of Escape. For in so far as all religious systems are methods of escape, none is more so than that of the Buddhist who clearly sees life as characterized by imperfection and sorrow. Such, indeed, is the First of the aryan Truths perceived by Gotama, and the genuine Buddhist is the skilful escapist.

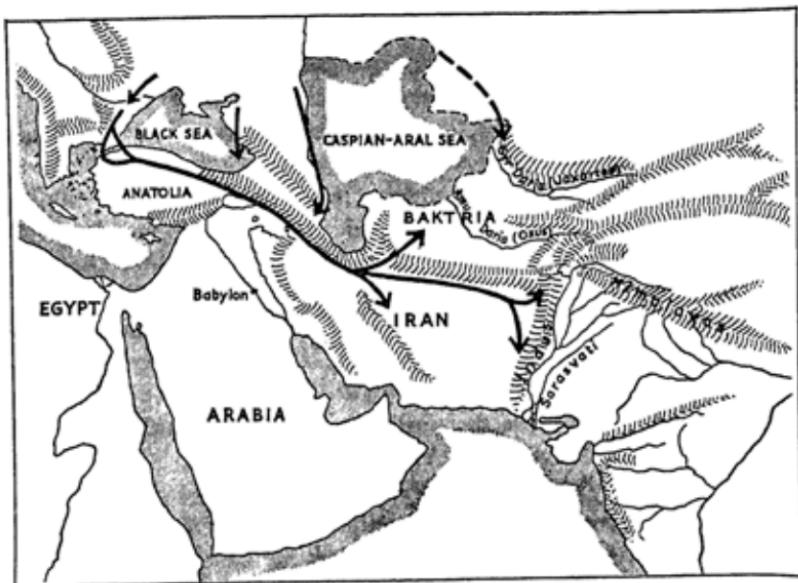
But are there any genuine Buddhists? Gotama anticipated that there would be few, if any. 'This reality that I have reached is profound, hard to comprehend . . . delighting in pleasure, this race of men will find it difficult to comprehend': such were the first thoughts of the newly enlightened Buddha. He knew man for the animal that he is, and in hesitating to cast the pearls of aryan Truth before swine, he was well aware of the mortifying effects that the inevitable changeover from quality to quantity brings to every religion or systematized philosophy. The pure, aryan quality is essential to the life of the Saddhamma, the pure, original Teaching. What the masses embrace they ultimately hug to death!

THE ĀRYANS

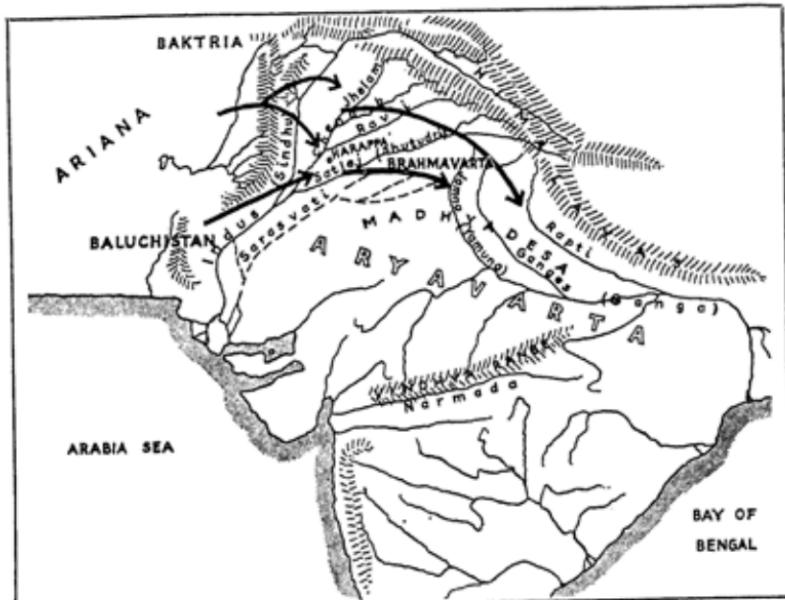
Ārya means Noble—noble in heart, noble in race. The history of India commences with the coming of the Āryans, while prehistoric Indian archaeology begins with the Harappā city civilization of 3000 B.C. which existed for a thousand years along a thousand miles of the great Indus Valley.

Different authorities, basing their calculations upon philological and archaeological evidence, have placed the locus of Āryan origin variously between Central Asia in the east and Central Europe in the west. Today a consensus favours the South Russian steppes and the land eastwards to the Caspian-Aral Sea as the Āryan home (see Map I). Here lived the ancestors of the Kelts, the Teutons, the Latins, and the Slavs, and of the high-caste Indians, both as agriculturists and pastoral nomads who had tamed the horse, but lacking a culture such as the cities of Harappā have evidenced. And from here tribes of Āryans appear to have commenced their migrations round about the year 2000 B.C. (to use a round figure).

The first Āryan 'Indians' (inhabitants of the *Indus* country) maintained liaison with their relatives back in Persia, and their language



MAP I
Early Āryan Migrations



MAP II
Āryan Migration in Bhāratavarsha

and customs were similar for centuries after both peoples had discarded the 360-day calendar. A bond persists to this day in the name 'Irān', which is derived from *Ariana*, 'the country of the Āryans' (see Map II).¹

It is fairly certain that the Āryans who entered India were illiterate. Intertribal feuds were not infrequent, many of them arising out of cattle raids. Their clans acknowledged each a chief—like those of Old Ireland and Scotland. In India the Āryans gave to him the title *rāja*, but often he was no more than the nominal head or chairman of the *Sabha* or governing committee, a laird in whom were invested the clan's land titles (such as they might be). Although the government was so far democratic, only members of *khattiya* families—the nobility, who boasted descent from the sun²—could occupy a position on the *Sabha* and serve as hereditary or elected *rāja*.

In Āryan society, after the *khattiya* came the *brāhmaṇa*. The *brāhmaṇa* was the priest, then as today. He occupied an important place in the life of the clan, for he alone could conduct the sacrifices so essential to the welfare of the tribe.

THE BRĀHMANS

To give dates to the periods of Indian literature is always a difficult matter on account of the overlapping that took place. The following figures, therefore, are approximate:

(a) *Shruti* (divinely revealed) Literature

		B.C.
Vedas	{ Early Rig Veda Later Rig Veda; Sāma, Yajur, and Atharva Vedas	1500–1000
Brāhmaṇas	}	II Mantra or Early Brāhmaṇa period
Āraṇyakas	}	1000–800
Upanishads	}	III Later Brāhmaṇa period
		800–600

(b) *Smriti* Literature (based on sacred tradition)

Sūtras (Epic poems, Law books, Legends)	IV Sūtra period	600–200
Bhāṣya (commentarial literature)		

¹ Cf. *Eire*, the ancient name for the heroic land wherein Āryan westerly expansion terminated.

² An assertion probably synonymous with a claim of pure Āryan (white) descent.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS OF INDIA

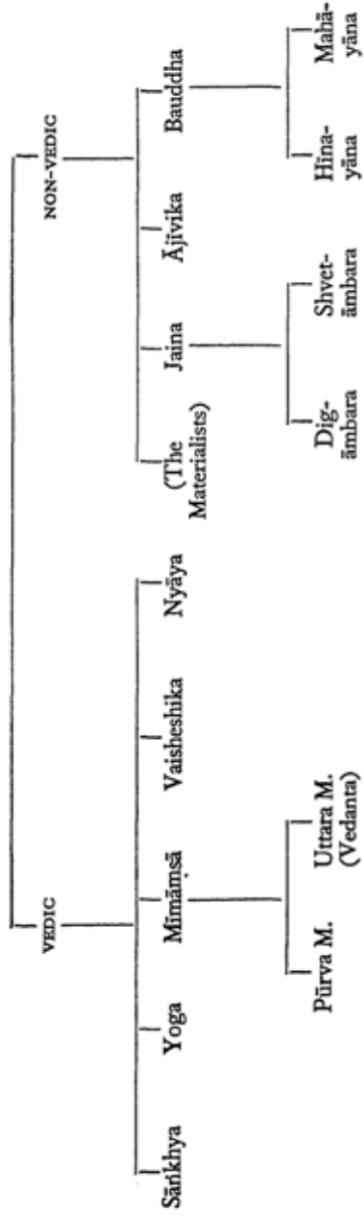


CHART A

Of the numerous Upanishads, only the Brihadāraṇyaka and the Chāndogya are considered to be pre-Buddhist. In them, for the first time in Indian sacred literature, we find prominence given to the *muni*, the independent sage.¹

Brāhmaṇic absorption in the sacrifice (*yajña*) ultimately gave way to the speculation and worship (*pūjā*) of Hinduism; and our present study corresponds to the time of the philosophical Upanishads and traditional Sūtras, the literature of Indian asceticism and mysticism with which Brāhmaṇism ends and Hinduism, together with Buddhism, begins. The student of Buddhism has only to remember that the Upanishadic period of Indian thought was one of renascence which witnessed this remarkable transition—from traditional belief in the efficacy of the sacrifice to active popular asceticism—as the ancient Vedic tradition gave way to an epoch of positive religious speculation.

BRAHMA—GOD

Of all the many gods of Hinduism, Brahma became the supreme one. Brahma represented the impersonal, and then also the personal, aspects of ultimate reality: the 'Cosmic Soul' (*Brahmā* masculine) enters into creation as the first-born of *Brahman* neuter or highest manifestation, as the 'brilliant immortal Male'.

Originally *Brahman* meant a magic spell. *Ātman* meant breath, and later it came to stand for the 'principle of life'. We may say that the first great event in the history of Indian thought occurred when the equation was formulated that the individual soul and the great cosmic power Brahma were one and the same. Brahma = Ātman: Ātman = Brahma. *Tat tvam asi*, That art thou!

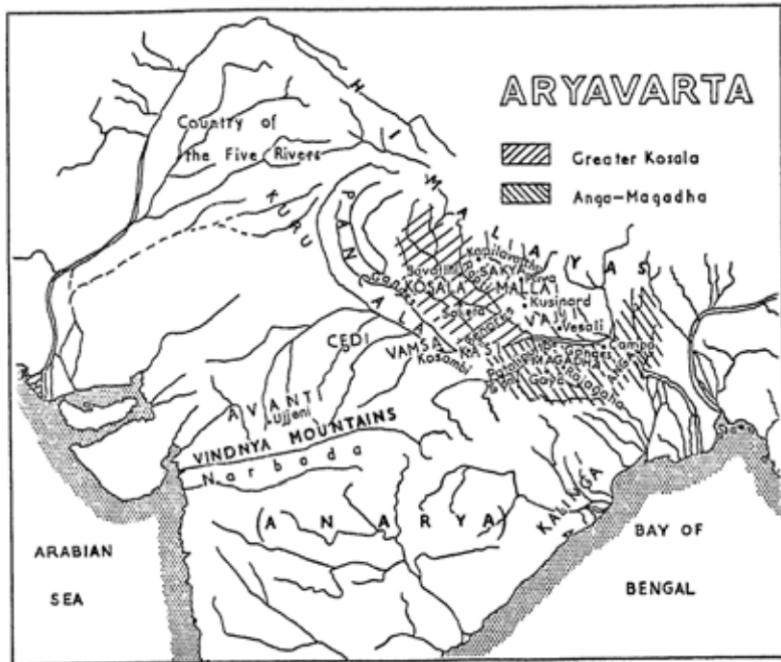
To acquire this union (*yoga*) was, to the Indian religieux, the supreme art of life; and since its attainment meant for him no further rebirth (again-becoming) in this world of woe, it was a matter of primary importance, of urgency.

Among the Hindus it became the custom for the householder, having established a family, to renounce home life and end his days as an ascetic. Many such homeless wanderers were champion disputants, and not infrequently they might transfer their allegiance from one teacher or philosopher to another during their quest of the liberating truth. Some formed *gaṇas*, gangs or groups, or *saṅghas*, societies, the members of which subscribed to common tenets, to a

¹ Cf. *Br Up* iv, 4, 22; *Ch Up* ii, 23, 1.

particular mode of dress, or shared distinguishing marks made upon the body.

Such freedom of movement and exchange of ideas could only have been possible among a people who valued the verities for themselves and who were guiltless of intolerance and religious persecution. It was



MAP III

The Aryan Kingdoms, Principalities and Republican States of India in the time of Gotama

in this unique environment that several of India's greatest sage philosophers arose, swelling the Upanishadic speculation with famous doctrines of their own. By the fifth century B.C. it had, in fact, become difficult to present in India any fresh line of thought without its being confused with one or another of the systems that already existed there.

sets out details, many of them richly miraculous, concerning his career. Continued reiteration of these stories has caused some of them to be regarded as historical events.

It is, however, generally accepted that the founder of Buddhism was a member of a *khattiya* family 'of solar lineage'—of pure Āryan stock. His father is styled, in some of the Buddhist scriptures (e.g. *D* xiv, 3, 30), '*rāja*', or chief of the Sākyan clan which dwelt in the foothills of the Himālayas. Sākya, a state tributary to the kingdom of Kosala, was about the size of Yorkshire or Connecticut (see Map III).

Before Gotama became self-Awakened—thereby winning for himself the title *Buddha*—his parents, it is said, named him Siddhāttha. The traditional account of the great sage's early years of luxury, his renunciation and subsequent holy life, is to be found in every primer and reference book dealing with 'Buddhism'. There can be no doubt, however, that a particular philosophy of life, from which the religion 'Buddhism' evolved, was propounded in India by a particular great personality; and that his was a personality high above the ordinary run of men, even of holy men.

But it is the Sage's unique teaching (*Dhamma*) that is of importance to us, while the personal details are chiefly of value in establishing the identity and date in history of that teaching's propounder. Modern historians agree that Gotama's attainment of enlightenment took place in or about the year 528 B.C. at Buddhagayā in Bihār. Buddhist tradition claims that this event occurred when he was thirty-five years of age, and that he died when he was eightyish.

The scriptures of Buddhism make several references to the six years that separated Siddhāttha's abandoning of the family life and his Awakening to Buddhahood. The Pāli name for this supramundane state is *Nibbāna*; in the West it is better known by the Sanskrit 'Nirvāṇa'.

The expression of the equation 'Brahma = Ātman' has been described as a great event in the history of Indian religious thought. Now there was another, and perhaps greater, event: Gotama ceased to be a Hindu, and the selfish silence of the esoterically-minded brāhmaṇ he replaced with the ineffable silence of the legitimate *muni* or Sage.

The sacred books of the Buddhists record that the newly enlightened Buddha's thoughts ran as follows:

'This reality that I have reached is deep, hard to see, hard to under-

stand, rare, peaceful, beyond reasoning, subtle, to be understood only by the wise. But this world of men is attached to sensual pleasure, delighted in sensual pleasure, led by sensual pleasure. Since this world of men is thus attached . . . it were difficult for them to comprehend this reality of the arising of things by dependence on cause, the setting at rest of activity, the renunciation of attachment, the quenching of craving, dispassion, cessation—that is, *Nibbāna*. Now, were I to publish this teaching abroad and others fail to appreciate it, this would be labour in vain for me, tedious' (*M* lxxxv).

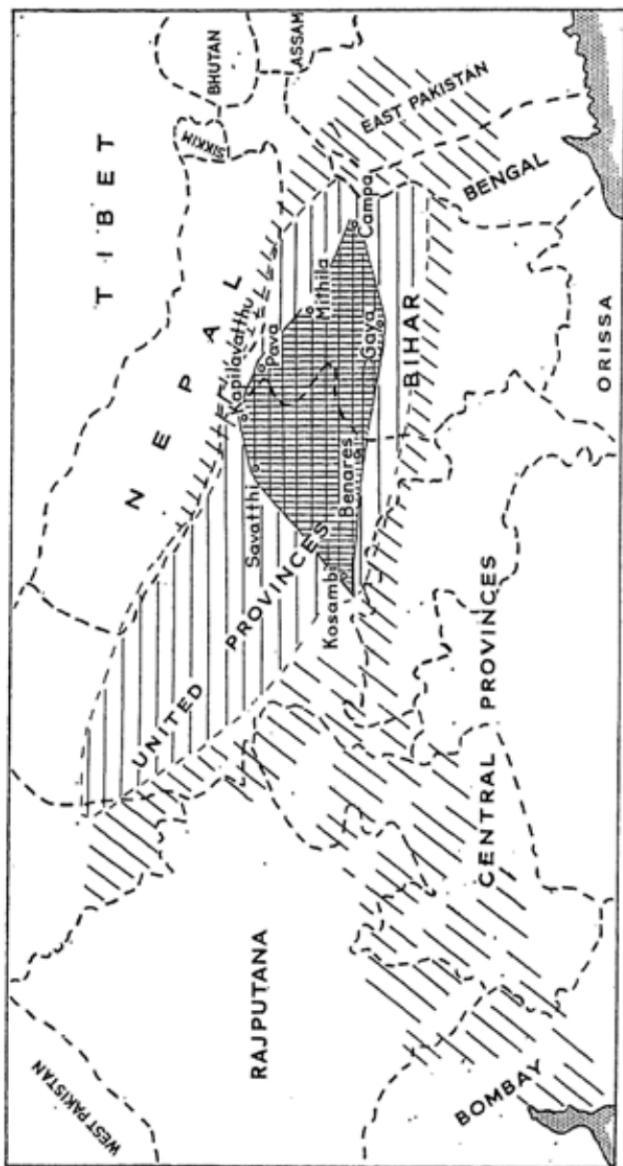
This account of the Awakened One's initial reluctance to preach the *Dhamma* may well be a pictorial description of an enlightened *muni*'s silence. For a holy man might indeed require persuasion before he speaks; and to a *buddha*, to any profound sage or seer, the words of the mundane man (*puthujjana*) are mundane words, they continually call for a careful definition, and all statements are necessarily comparative in a world whose values are relative and subject to change. We all know how easily our own words and our intentions are misunderstood by others. It was the triviality of the average man's mind, of the average man's words, that might cause an Awakened One to hesitate to dissipate his energy, hesitate to break his sublime silence.

But the All-Wise One was also the Compassionate Buddha, and journeying from Gayā to Isipatana, the sage's haven outside the holy and ancient city of Banāras, Gotama gave there the first exposition of his *Dhamma* (teaching). This is the sermon on the Middle Way of life, which has since become world famous under the name of 'The Buddha's First Discourse'.¹ Buddhist tradition gives the date of this momentous event as the full moon of *Āsālha* (July), in the year 528 B.C.—when Gotama the Buddha first SET IN MOTION THE WHEEL OF THE LAW!²

The area of north Central India in which Gotama moved during his lifetime must have been, in its greatest extent, near one hundred thousand square miles. This comprises, approximately, distances 450 miles from east to west, by over 200 from north to south; from west of present-day Allahābād in the United Provinces (*Uttar Pradesh*) in the west, to east of Bhagalpur or the eastern boundary of Bihār (now

¹ Shorn of its fabulous embellishments, this—the *Dhammacakka Pavattana* *Su*—is reproduced *infra*.

² It was from this time that the *Buddha-sāsana* actually commenced (see Glossary).



MAP IV—MAJHIMADESA

The Buddhists' 'Middle Country', including
that area wherein the Buddha is believed to have taught, and
the 'Border Lands'.
Modern provincial boundaries shown thus - - - -



the western frontier of East Pākistān) in the east; and in the north the region of the Nepāl border. Southwards it is unlikely that the Sage reached the geographical boundary of rivers and mountains which divided *Āryāvarta*—the country occupied by the Āryan tribes—from the south or *Deccan*: the Kaimur–Bihār ranges and Chota Nagpur, inhabited as they were by wild aborigines, probably remained unknown to him. Accounts of the Buddha having visited any place south of the 22nd parallel are fabulous, and carry with them the contention that such journeys were accomplished by miraculous means. (See Map IV.)

We must not forget that the *Dhamma* preached by Gotama, and the precepts that evolved from it, were for people living 2,500 years ago, in tropical and subtropical conditions. The high degree of metaphysic and rhetoric which then evidently existed among the inhabitants of India should not mislead us into imagining that the standard of living was not a low one. Although all types of persons would have listened to his words, the peculiar philosophy of life and of escape taught by the sage from Sākya was directed primarily to his fellow-ascetics, to those who were prepared to renounce the household, wordly life for the worthy life of the wanderer and hermit. Gotama's disciples were never priests, never brāhmans in the sense that they performed rites and ceremonies.

NIBBĀNA, THE GOAL

The Buddha, after his Awakening, referred to himself always by one and the same name: 'Tathāgata', 'One who has come—or gone—*Thus Far*'. More briefly, *Tathāgata* means, by implication, simply: 'This'—this impersonal, egoless, five-fold conglomeration¹ that the Awakened One's companions apprehended when they were in his company. Liberation, Gotama taught, can be won here and now, in this present lifetime. When it is reached and *Nibbāna* attained, the body proceeds to complete its natural span of years; when, at death, the body does disintegrate, there is no rebirth or again-becoming (*punabbhava*), and *Pari-nibbāna*, utter Nirvāna, is reached.

'The outward form of the *Tathāgata*, monks, stands before you with the roots of existence cut', declared the Buddha. 'So long as his

¹ I.e.: bodily form, sensation, perception, mental conditions and tendencies, consciousness.

body lasts, gods and men are able to see him. But when life has run out and the body disintegrates, gods and men will no longer see him.

'Monks, it is just like when a branch is cut from a mango tree, all the fruit on that branch goes with it. . . .' (D i, 3, 73).

When one accidentally cuts oneself, one immediately proceeds to tend, to clean the wound. In doing this, can it be said that one has the immediate conscious desire to experience the end of, or release from, the pain? Such of course is understood, but one does not stop to ponder the point. Healing is a gradual process, and eventually the time does arrive when the wounded man can say that his wound has ceased to trouble him.

But the fact is that our flood of troubles is never ended. If it is not one thing it's another! We are ever the victims of physical pain, mental worry, unsatisfactoriness, friction. We are thwarted by inhibition, haunted by convention. We take prejudice with us wherever we go. Gotama, as did so many of his fellow-philosophers, saw that life means suffering, that to live is to suffer.¹ Having freed himself from the sorrow that was his, he taught the system by which others might do the same. The object of his system is to heal the wound, the cause of which is ignorance. If one succeeds, *Nibbāna* is the result.

Nibbāna is the peace that is attainable 'here and now', and as such it is called the goal. But the ultimate goal is *Pari-nibbāna*, and for this reason it is necessary to distinguish between *Nibbāna* and *Pari-nibbāna*.²

It is not surprising that early European scholars came to the conclusion that *Nibbāna* meant annihilation. But to call it so is a misleading half-truth; *Nibbāna* is the result of the annihilation of ignorance, of the annihilation of sorrow. In one word, *Nibbāna* is CESSATION—the cessation of the process that is motivated by ignorance. 'The cessation of becoming is *Nibbāna*' (S ii, 68).

Nibbāna is cessation! A more positive description or definition than this of the goal of the Buddhist cannot be expressed in words, for no words describe the indescribable. The early Pāli texts name it 'rare', 'peace-full', 'beyond reasoning', 'subtle' . . .

The Upasīvamāṇava Pucchā of the Sutta Nipāta anthology of the Pāli canon (Sn v, 6) consists of an extraordinary conversation which

¹ Human life as a spectacle fraught with suffering is perhaps even more apparent in India than it is in modern Western society.

² 'Pari-nibbāna' is not named in the older Buddhist scriptures.

took place between a young brāhmaṇ named Upasīva, and the Buddha, whom the youth addresses in the usual Indian manner as 'Bhagavant', Lord.

The young man starts by complaining that by himself, unaided, he could never venture to cross the mighty flood of troubles that is life; and he asks Gotama to tell him of some means of support which will give him the strength necessary to take the first plunge.

The Buddha proceeds to stimulate self-confidence in the brāhmaṇ. 'Mindful that there is no tie nor possession that can hold you back, aided by the knowledge that Nothing Is,¹ you *will* cross the flood!' he assures the young ascetic. 'You must abandon all sensual pleasure and all doubts; and day and night, with all craving stilled, steadfastly maintain the peace of sorrowlessness.'

(The peace of sorrowlessness that is *Nibbāna*!)

Upasīva accepts this statement, and asks: 'Will he who has abandoned all sensual pleasure and all doubts, whose single possession is the knowledge Nothing Is, who is no longer misled by perception—will he remain in that state?'

'He who has abandoned all sensual pleasure and all doubts, whose single possession is the knowledge Nothing Is, who is no longer misled by perception—he *will* remain in that state', answers Gotama repeating, as was the custom, the question word for word.

'And he who lives in that sorrowless state over a period of years, Lord, is he conscious of the existence of his sorrowlessness?' continues the brāhmaṇ. He is now enquiring what is the condition of one who has reached *Nibbāna* and who is still living.

The Teacher replies with his famous definition of one who has attained liberation. It is, we see, the only possible reply that we can expect to such a question which, in effect, it answers and yet does not answer:

'Just as a flame that has become extinguished by the wind can no longer be identified, so the tranquil sage, who is released from mind-cum-body, can no longer be identified.'

Until we experience the supreme experience ourselves, until we reach this level and explore it, we have to be content with this simile.²

¹ *Natthi*, literally: 'there is not'.

² The Pāli-English dictionary of the P.T.S. gives the etymology of *Nibbāna* as *nir* + *vā* 'to blow'. '... Only in the older texts do we find references to a simile of the wind and the flame.'

Here 'mind-cum-body' includes all that a man is, mentally and physically, with no 'soul' nor other residue remaining.

But Upasiva was not completely satisfied with this; he wished to know what happens after death (at *pari-nibbāna*). He puts his last question:

'He who can no longer be identified—will he be no more, or will he, wholesome, be forever existing? Explain this thoroughly to me, *Muni*, for it is well understood by you.'

But to this the sublime Teacher sagely declares: 'No measure measures him who has reached the goal: by what measure is the immeasurable measured?

'No words describe the indescribable!'

ANICCA, CHANGE

A substantial quantity of what we call Buddhism is also Hinduism; a great amount shared its origin with that of Hinduism—items of doctrine, contemplative practices and rules for the monks, precepts for the laymen, methods of teaching and of rehearsing the Law.

Among those portions of the *Buddha-dhamma* that were held in common with the Hindus, and with the Jainas and other non-materialistic Indian philosophical systems, is the law of Anicca (Skt.: *anitya*), change or impermanence. Everything, animate and inanimate, is subject to evanescence. Our world is fundamentally transient.

In the *Dhamma* of the Buddha the important place taken by Change, as one of the three characteristics of life, is emphasized in the following passage from the *Anguttara Nikāya* (ix, 20):

'Though, filled with faith, one takes refuge in the Buddha, in his *Dhamma*, and in his *Saṅgha*, or with a true heart observes the moral precepts, or develops a mind full of benevolence, far more meritorious (i.e. beneficial) is it to contemplate Impermanency, be it only for a minute.'

KAMMA AND REBIRTH

In the Buddhist scriptures we read that Gotama constantly declared: 'Whatever is of the nature to arise, all that is of the nature to stop'. The majority of Indians accepted, besides the doctrine of *anicca*, the interrelated principle of Kamma (Skt.: *karma*) action, together with Rebirth, as axiomatic. The Law of *Kamma-vipāka* is the law of

Cause-and-Effect—that everything that happens is the result of a previous cause and will itself cause a further result and so on and on.

The ancient Indians applied this law not merely to scientific observation but to everything, so that it governed human behaviour and explained moral retribution.

Kamma supplied the reason for rebirth—that the results of our actions (or, more precisely, of the volition that gave rise to those actions), are not annulled by death, but find their appropriate expression independent of time: if not in the present life, then in a subsequent one. The causal process continues until *Nibbāna* is reached.

This is not fatalism: to see *kamma* as fate is not to have comprehended the Law. 'If anyone asserts that a man must experience according to his deeds, in that case there is no holy life, nor is any opportunity afforded for the entire extinction of ill. But if anyone says that the effects a man experiences accord with his deeds, in that case there is a holy life, and opportunity is afforded for the entire extinction of ill' (*A* i).

Did Gotama modify the popular principle of action-reaction? We may say that, teaching in an environment permeated by animistic notions, he did rationalize the law of *kamma*: he pointed out that result follows cause in a natural sequence, that it is never the machination of gods and spirits but that man is master of his destiny. The Buddha's teaching is one in which no god is called to play a part.

The factor motivating rebirth is *upadhi*, attachment, that which makes us cling to life. 'Attachment, which leads to rebirth, is the cause of sorrow. The fool who forms attachments brings sorrow upon himself. Understanding this, be wise and do not add to your sorrows by forming attachments' (*Sn* vs. 1050-1).

DUKKHA, SORROW

Unfortunately for us, owing to our ignorance, we form desires and attachments unconsciously—in addition to the vast crop of desire-attachment that we acquire consciously. In so far as this inherent ignorance is ignorance of ourselves it can be eradicated by the sustained practice of awareness.

To this end is directed a vital part of the system of *Buddha-yoga* or meditation, by which one learns to know oneself by the cultivation of self-awareness.

Living as he did among impressions that are too blatant to be nice, the Indian ascetic found little difficulty in abandoning the world of the five senses. But retired to a cool and shady spot he would seek solace in the purer joys of metaphysic. To this Gotama objected that thereby one merely extended one's quinquesensual world of perception to one of six senses, and he showed his followers that the fundamental error is desire-attachment. 'This *Dhamma* that I teach you,' he told his disciples in so many words, 'even that must you discard on approaching the goal. It is desire-attachment itself that is the fault, be it desire-attachment for the Buddha, the *Dhamma* or the *Saṅgha*.'

We can see from this the relative importance in the *Buddha-dhamma* of *saddhā*, faith, or rather, confidence. In a system that finds no place for blind belief, faith has to be replaced by knowledge. 'Doubt can be banished by knowledge' (*Sn* vs. 868); while a love of rite and ceremony is regarded as a pandering to the sixth sense.

That sorrow exists in this world is self-evident. Gotama used this evidence, of which every sober human being is a witness, as the starting-point of his philosophy. 'Just this have I taught and do I teach,' declared the Awakened One, 'sorrow, and the ending of sorrow' (*M* i, 22). Sorrow, then, is the basis of Buddhist philosophy. Gotama's stock definition of *Dukkha* (Skt.: *duḥkha*), sorrow, suffering, pain, is made as a statement of truth: it is the first of the four Noble Truths (*ariya-sacca*). And here we leave Hinduism and come to the beginning of that portion of the *Dhamma* that was Gotama's contribution to Indian thought.

THE FOUR TRUTHS

The four aryan Truths are:

I. 'This is the noble Truth as to suffering: birth is painful, old age is painful, disease and death are painful, grief, sorrow, lamentation, depression, despair are painful; association with the uncongenial is painful, separation from loved ones is painful; not getting what one wants is painful. In fact every part of us—existing, as we do, because we grasp hold of life—is subject to suffering.'

II. 'This is the noble Truth as to the cause of suffering: it is ignorant craving, which leads to rebirth, and is associated with desire-attachment, seeking pleasure everywhere, the craving for happiness in this life or in a future life.'

III. 'This is the noble Truth as to the ending of suffering: it is the putting an end to ignorant craving, giving up that desire-attachment, abandoning that pleasure-seeking and craving for life or for the cessation of life.'

IV. 'This is the noble Truth as to the Path that leads to the ending of suffering: it is the aryan Eightfold Path, namely: right views, right mindedness, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right endeavour, right mindfulness, right concentration' (*S* v, 12).

THE EIGHTFOLD PATH

In effect this eightfold Way of life is the Middle Path, the way of moderation that avoids extremes. The Middle Way is Gotama's criterion, to be applied to daily life. The eight sections are not to be practised in sequence but concurrently; they are not steps.

The noble Eightfold Path (*atthangika-magga*) is:

1. Right Views (*sammā ditṭhi*)—seeing life as it is, in accord with its three characteristics (change or impermanence, sorrow, and unsubstantiality or non-egoism¹); and appreciating the four truths.
2. Right Mindedness (*sammā sankappa*)—being motivated by friendly thoughts, without prejudice, towards one's fellow human beings and towards all other forms of sentient life.
3. Right Speech (*sammā vācā*)—speaking kindly and truthfully, and narrating incidents accurately.
4. Right Action (*sammā kammanta*)—acting skilfully and sympathetically, while avoiding vain or violent effort.
5. Right Livelihood (*sammā ājīva*)—practising a means of living that does not cause oneself nor others to infringe lawful morality.²
6. Right Endeavour (*sammā vāyāma*)—self-perfection by avoiding and rejecting ignoble qualities while acquiring and fostering noble qualities.
7. Right Mindfulness (*sammā sati*)—the cultivation and practice of self-awareness and compassion, resulting in self-reliance and equanimity.

¹ *Anicca, dukkha, anattā* (which see later).

² Later this was codified into four precepts: i.e. abstaining from killing, stealing, adultery, and lying. To these a fifth rule was added: abstention from drinking wines and spirits. All followers of the Buddha came to regard these five precepts as obligatory.

8. Right Concentration (*sammā samādhi*)—contemplation culminating in intellectual intuition, wisdom.

In practice the eightfold Way was divided under three heads: *sīla*, morality; *saṃādhi*, meditation or mental culture; and *paññā*, development of insight or wisdom.

(i) Morality includes right speech, action, and livelihood (or items 3, 4 and 5);

(ii) Mental culture includes right endeavour, mindfulness, and concentration (items 6, 7, 8);

(iii) Insight includes right views and mindedness (1 and 2).

THE CAUSAL FORMULA

The Middle Path is the way of escape, from sorrow, to liberation. But how is sorrow linked with craving? This is demonstrated by the Causal Formula, by applying Truths II and III to the law of *Kamma*: 'That being present, this becomes; from the arising of that, this arises,' declared the Buddha. 'That being absent, this does not become; from the cessation of that, this ceases.'

Gotama concerned himself primarily with the cause of sorrow in order to arrive at its elimination: man's disease had to be diagnosed before it could be cured. Ultimately the causal formula, *pāṭiccasamuppāda* (Skt.: *pratītya-samutpāda*), the theory of dependent origination, became stereotyped to include twelve links (*nidānas*), but in the scriptures different schemes are presented wherein the number and even the order of these conditioning links vary. The formula serves as an illuminating corollary to the Four Truths.

The second and third of the Four Truths state that sorrow is caused by ignorance resulting in desire-attachment, and that this sorrow can be eliminated by the elimination of desire-attachment. We therefore start from Ignorance.

The complete Causal Formula specifies that:

Ignorance (*avijjā*) conditions *kammic* formations (*saṅkhāra*¹)
Kammic formations condition consciousness (*viññāna*)
 Consciousness conditions mind and matter (*nāma-rūpa*)

¹ *Saṅkhāra*, kammic formations, mental tendencies and conditions; things conditioned, compounded; it is a word which it is sometimes difficult to translate nicely into English because of its diverse meanings.

Mind and matter condition the six senses (*āyatana*¹)
 The six senses condition sense impressions (*phassa*)
 Impression conditions sensation (*vedanā*)
 Sensation conditions craving (*tanha*)
 Craving conditions clinging (*upādāna*)
 Clinging conditions becoming (*bhava*)
 Becoming conditions (re)birth (*jāti*)
 Birth conditions old age, death (*jarā-marana*).

The most concise expression of *bhava cakka*, the Wheel of Becoming, is: Ignorance = desire-attachment = activity = rebirth.

THE FIVE KHANDHAS

Let us now define the person possessed of six senses—that is, you and me—Buddhistically. Gotama showed that the normal healthy human being is composed of five parts called khandhas (Skt.: *skandhas*). These are:

- (1) form—*rūpa*
- (2) sensation—*vedanā*
- (3) perception—*saññā*
- (4) mental tendencies and conditions—*saṅkhāra*
- (5) consciousness—*viññāna*.

'Form' refers to our anatomical framework or corporeal vehicle, the body. 'Sensation' includes physical and mental feelings. 'Perception' comes through the six senses: it is the awareness of sensation, man's cogent medium with the world outside him. The 'mental tendencies and conditions' consist of the mental phenomena: one's abilities and aptitudes, opinions and prejudices, notions, ideologies; also dispositions, such as volition, intention, faith, compassion, delusion, envy, conceit, etc.—the very stuff that character is made of! 'Consciousness' is mental cognition, thought.

A short, collective name for these five aggregates is *nāma-rūpa*, literally 'name-form', mind-cum-body, where *nāma* includes the immaterial, invisible *vedanā*, *saññā*, *saṅkhāra* and *viññāna*. *Nāma* means Name; and it will be noticed that 'soul' is not included among the

¹ *Āyatana*: the five physical senses (seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching) plus the mind (thinking) as the sixth sense.

human constituents, nor does such form part of any of them. During one's lifetime the *khandhas* are subject to the three characteristics of life; at death all five disintegrate.

'Autocar' is the name given to a number of assembled parts—body, springs, engine, wheels, *etc.*—which together form a 'car'; but when the parts are dismantled the 'car' ceases to exist. Similarly with the human being: neither any nor all of the five *khandhas* constitute a permanent self, as neither any nor all the five (or six) sense-organs constitute a self (cf. *S* iii, 1, 59).

AN-ATTĀ, NOT SELF

In stipulating the principle of *Anattā*, unsubstantiality, non-egoism, Gotama passed beyond the ken of Hindu or orthodox Indian metaphysic; for in the religious thought of India, *Anattā* is peculiar to the Buddha's teaching, of which it forms a crucial part.

The following definition of this vital term is taken from the standard 'Buddhist Dictionary' of Bhikkhu Nyanatiloka. '*Anattā*: "Non-Ego, Not-Self", i.e. the fact that neither within these bodily and mental phenomena of existence, nor outside them, can be found anything that in the ultimate sense could be regarded as a self-reliant real Ego-entity, or Personality. This is the central doctrine of Buddhism without an understanding of which a real knowledge of Buddhism is altogether impossible . . . the Buddha was known as the *Anatta-vādī*, or teacher of Impersonality.'

We see, therefore, that the meaning and significance of *anattā* is all-important. Thought of as 'humility', it is the basis of individual Buddhist altruism, and the man who treads properly the Middle Path of the Compassionate One becomes aware that 'humility is the greatest penance' (*Dp* vs. 184), the greatest character-builder. 'Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord? With self well subdued, a man finds a lord such as few can find' (vs. 160).

Thus *anattā* supplies us, in a negative way, with the answer to the question 'What is it that is reborn?' The answer is: No thing, nothing material but, as has already been indicated, the abstract character. Ignorance + action + *nāma-rūpa* + death + rebirth together produce, or manifest as, a process. This process, like all processes, is equated with *anicca*, change. This process is, in addition—as we have seen—a painful process.

It may be difficult for an egotistical person to admit that he or she, in the long run, is merely A Process. But can it be said that (expressed in terms of 'time') the particular process that is now Mr A. Smith of London, who was (during its previous lifetime known as) Mrs A. Barua of Calcutta, and will (in its next lifetime) be Miss A. Chekhov of Moscow, is any more a permanent entity than it can be said that Mr A. Smith at the age of seventy is the same person that he was as a youth of seventeen? Not only is every atom and particle of our physical body replaced within each few years, but also the mental side of us, our views, ambitions and prejudices, are equally mutable.

THE THREE CHARACTERISTICS

Each one of us, then, is A Process—a process which is subject to three characteristic conditions or signs of being (*ti-lakkhana*). These Three Characteristics are:

- (1) *Anattā* (Skt.: *anātman*)—impersonality, unsubstantiality
- (2) *Anicca* (Skt.: *anitya*)—impermanence, change
- (3) *Dukkha* (Skt.: *duḥkha*)—imperfection, sorrow.

Such is, in outline, the *Saddhamma* which the ascetic Gotama taught to his brother recluses, and upon which the vast structure called 'Buddhism' came to be built. But many of the bricks with which it was constructed were culled from brāhmaṇic Hinduism, and this was undoubtedly the factor which decided the course taken by Buddhism in its later development. Today it can be seen that, as the centuries took this evolution through phases of elaboration and then of exaggeration of Gotama's pristine philosophy of life, it constituted on the whole a swing back to a Hinduism popularized, and was a definite turning aside from that austere Way which generations subsequent to the Buddha had been unable to sustain. We can understand why the newly Awakened One hesitated to publicize the *Dhamma*, when he foresaw it as incapable of survival in its pristine purity. With his 'Buddha Eye' he must have perceived the deteriorating circumstances inherent in an environment conditioned by *anicca*.

Gotama was not concerned with beginnings, with the past. He urged concentration upon the present. In his sublime way he was urgent: *dukkha* had to be alleviated, 'here and now'! 'I saw men struggling like fish in a pool that is running dry, each obstructing the

other—and I was weighed down by the horror of it', declared the compassionate Buddha.

'Mankind seemed doomed to struggle—then I perceived a barb piercing as it were the heart of man. Thus pierced, man pursues his crazy path of pain—but if the barb be extracted he is calmed and knows peace' (*Sn* vs. 936, 938-9).

BUDDHIST MENTAL CULTURE

'Having mentally surveyed all directions I have not found anywhere, anything so dear to me as my own self. So it is with others that to each oneself is dear. Therefore, let him who loves himself not bring harm upon another' (*S i*, 75).

The Buddha insisted that knowledge must be tempered with compassion, *karunā*. Neither knowledge alone nor compassion alone gives the wayfarer the wisdom of the middle path. Gotama agreed with the brāhmaṇ that intelligence is a virtue; but in order to make it so it has to be tempered with kindness, *mettā*, and with understanding, *ñāṇa*.

'Identify yourself with others', exhorted the Buddha (*Sn* vs. 705): 'As they so I, as I so they.' Hence kill not nor cause to kill.'

When Gotama told his disciples to identify themselves with others and to consciously think 'As I so they', he was teaching them to create an active mental force (*mānasam*) consisting of thoughts of *mettā* (Skt.: *maitrī*), positive benevolence; and for disciples of certain temperament this probably constituted their first lesson in concentration, in the Buddha's system of *yoga*.¹ This particular exercise is called *mettābhāvanā*, the mental development of kindness, and it is described as being of particular benefit to those persons who suffer from personal prejudices—which were to say that *mettā* might well be practised by all!

SUBLIME STATES OF MIND

Distinction was made between *mettā*, benevolence, and *karunā*, compassion, gentleness. To these sublime states of mind was closely

¹ *Yoga* means yoking, union—to the Hindu, union with God, the individual soul with the universal Soul; to the Buddhist, *yoga* signifies the union between the *yogi* or meditator, the subject, and the object upon which he is meditating.

related another, *muditā*, joyous sympathy; and these three, together with *upekkhā*, equanimity, formed the Four *Brahma Vihāras*, the Sublime States or godly abidings.¹

JHĀNA, CONTEMPLATION

Although the first references in the canonical writings are to 'jhāna'² in the singular, or mental absorption in a non-particularized sense, the contemplatory exercises known as the four *Jhānas* are undoubtedly as early as the enumerated *Brahmavihāras*. Here the objects of concentration are of form, *rūpa*, and formless, *arūpa*, the latter referring to the spheres of (1) boundless space, (2) boundless consciousness, (3) nothingness, and (4) neither perception nor non-perception. The *Jhānas* constitute another interesting connexion between brāhmaṇic Hinduism and Buddhism, but it should be noted that the Buddhist *jhāna* goes beyond the Hindu absorptions.

SATIPATTHĀNA, AWARENESS

In the Buddha's system of practical self-perfection, meditation plays the most important part. One-third of the aryan middle way is devoted to mental culture. In particular *sammā sati*, right mindfulness, refers to the cultivation and practice of self-awareness, and this is amplified in the Pāli texts (i.e. *Satipatthāna Su* of *D* and *M*) into 'The Four

¹ The word *Brahma* is used in numerous compounds in Pāli without any reference to the god, in the sense of 'godly', 'sublime', 'excellent'. Gotama's followers employed the expression 'brahmavihāra' to denote a certain kind of concentration, though literally it signifies 'Brahma dwelling', 'abiding with Brahma, God'. *Brahmavihāra* became associated with *Brahma-loka*, the godly world or sphere, and it was eventually believed that those men and women who skilfully practised and cultivated one or more of the godly states of mind were reborn in a correspondingly godly world. This idea was, admittedly, a falling away from the ideal of enlightenment or *nibbāna* 'here and now' as the goal attained by means of the aryan Eightfold Path. *Brahmaloka* was the highest sphere for those who had not yet reached cessation, the highest for those who were still becoming (*bhava*). The Buddhists inherited their eschatology and cosmology directly from Brāhmaṇism: that they showed no initiative nor invention in these matters is an indication that Gotama seldom referred to them and surely did not teach them.

² Pāli *jhāna* = Skt. *dhyāna* = Chinese *ch'an* = Japanese *zen*.

Methods of Mindfulness', where the practising *yogi* systematically contemplates (1) the body, *kāya*, (2) the sensations, *vedanā*, (3) the states of mind, *cittā*, and (4) mental conceptions, *dhammā*—such things as the (five) hindrances to spiritual progress (*nīvaraṇa*¹), the five *khandhas*, the six senses and their objects, factors of wisdom, and finally the four Noble Truths themselves.

A word of warning to the student. Exercises in meditation should not be practised without the guidance of an experienced supervisor or teacher. For the result of their regular practice is to accelerate *kammic* reaction, to call into account one's past deeds or—more precisely—the results of one's ignorance. One has to pay one's debts, to take one's medicine; and to the *yogi* this sometimes appears as if he is drawing down calamity upon his head, magnetizing misfortune.

We have indicated the origins of the Buddhist system of mental culture in: (a) *Brahma-vihāra*, sublime states of mind, (b) *Satipatthāna*, self-awareness, (c) *Jhāna*, mental absorption.² These, however, form only the bases of an extensive subject or science, and we are here approaching the stage of formulated method upon which later monkish followers of the Buddha were to construct their intricate system of *Abhidhamma*, psycho-analytic *dhamma*. But in order to fully understand and appreciate the Buddha's personal philosophy of life, we must go back and acquaint ourselves with the *Muni*, with Gotama's ascetic disciples who saw the *Tathāgata*, and themselves heard his words of wisdom and assurance—the words (and the silence) upon which the *Dhamma*, the *Abhidhamma*, and the entire structure of Buddhism were built.

THE MUNI

The Vedic word *Muni* stood for one who had made the vow of silence; it is connected with *mukha*, mouth.³ The *Muni*, Sage, is described in the Rig Veda (x, 136, 2), 'with long hair and coloured garments'. But he is hardly distinguishable from the half divine rishi (P. *isi*) seer, until, in the renascent period of Upanishadic thought, he comes into

¹ The five *Nīvaraṇa* are: lust, ill-will, laziness and apathy, worry and restlessness, sceptical doubt.

² The three are reproduced scripturally in Appendix A *infra*.

³ PED: Vedic *mukha* silent, dumb = Latin *mutus* = English *mute*.

his own as the profound philosopher, the sage who knows that (*Ishā Up* ix):

Those with ignorant attachments
Enter into blinding darkness;
Into darkness deeper still go
Those delighting in their knowledge.

In the early days of the Buddha's career the society involved was a simple and modest one, consisting of *śramaṇa*, *muni*, and *buddha*. Initially all were *śramaṇas*, recluses, in common with other ascetics following other teachers, other philosophical systems. Those precious few who attained Liberation, by means of whatever system, were *buddhas*. Great *śramaṇas* who were not, however, *buddhas*, were *munis*, sages. Few indeed reached buddhaship 'here and now', and the majority of Gotama's disciples looked to the tranquillity of the *Muni* as the ideal, if not the *summum bonum*, of their life's endeavour.

The *Muni* environment was, as we shall see, largely an eremitical one. With the formation of colonies of disciples and, eventually, the establishment of monastic residences, and while the sage from Sākya became more famous and older in years, the primitive '*śramaṇa—muni—buddha*' pattern gradually gave way to that of '*bhikkhu—arahant—Buddha*'. Gotama became 'The Buddha', and his increasing number of followers adopted or were given the designation '*bhikkhus*', mendicant monks. Now the ideal shifted from that of the silent, tranquil sage or *Muni* to that of the superman, *Arahant*. Between *bhikkhu* and *arahant* three stages came later to be distinguished: (1) *sotāpanna*, 'stream attainer', for whom no more than a few rebirths were due¹; (2) *sakadāgāmi*, 'once returner', for whom one more rebirth in this world was karmically necessary before attaining liberation; (3) *anāgāmi* 'never returner', for whom no rebirth in this world was necessary and who would attain *nibbāṇa* after death. The *arahant*, Superman, attains liberation in this life, before death: but this he does by virtue of the Buddha's saving *dhamma* (whereas the Self-Awakened One liberated himself entirely by his own efforts).

This is clearly an elaboration of the pristine scheme, and apparently it had its beginning during Gotama's lifetime, and corresponds to the inception of monasticism. It was a pointer to things to come—things

¹ Later the number of these rebirths came somehow to be fixed at seven, but this seven probably signified 'a few' in Indian sacred literature.

which the Buddha, foreseeing, would have interpreted in terms of *anicca*. But let us, as he did, concern ourselves primarily with the *anattā* psychology and unique, austere life and aspirations of the *Muni*, the aryan sage.

The *Muni* was never a monk, but a recluse, one leading the homeless life, one who was attached not even to a monastery. When Gotama pointed out the practical advantages of leading such a life to those seeking liberation, to those seeking peace here and now, he was not inviting them to form nor join any order or *saṅgha*, nor to lead a strictly organized life according to any set of prescribed rules. The emphasis was, consistently, upon freedom, individual effort, upon mindfulness—and it was the practice of this constant self-awareness that called, more than any other thing, for the abandoning of the householder's life with its abundance of distracting sense impressions. At the beginning the emphasis was on the *muni* and the way of the *muni*, and not on the *Saṅgha* nor the 'perfect disciple', as the *arahant* has been called; and least of all was it on the personality of the Buddha himself. Gotama's teaching was a philosophy of life for the individual, not an organized religion: to reach the goal, the Further Shore beyond the flood of life's sorrow, was a wholifetime job. The Buddha did not engineer a 'popular movement'; his way was for the few, those noble few who could and did persevere, who felt the urge and made the effort. They were the *munis*, the true aryans of sixth- and fifth-century India, as of today or of any period and place. Such persons were far above convention, most of all the conventions of regimented religion; and they preserved their independence of spirit in spite of, not because of, organization. The aryan sage 'depends upon the *Dhamma* which shows him the folly of depending upon anything' (*Sn* vs. 856).

In this primitive idealist philosophy we find no mention of a god or of any supreme deity, nor of any religious obligation or observance such as worship. On the contrary, there is throughout a refreshing absence of ritual and such-like aspects of traditionalism and, indeed, it could not be otherwise in a system which depended upon utter sincerity and absolute freedom of spirit.

In the Discourse on Major Issues¹ Gotama tells an enquirer: 'The tranquil sage, being free of worldly ties, though living in this world,

¹ I.e. *Sn* iv, 13. This, together with all the other discourses and dialogues of the *Sutta Nipāta* that are quoted, are reproduced in full *infra*.

remains sectless among sectarians, untroubled amongst trouble, omitting what the (mundane) world commits.

'Having expelled imperfections without acquiring new ones, having abandoned desire, being independent of dogma and no longer influenced by philosophical views, he pursues his own way, unimpressed by the world, never given to self-reproach.'

Replying to the young brāhmaṇ Nanda (*Sn* v, 7), the Lord says: 'The tranquil sage is not so called on account of traditional lore, nor of any such conventional learnedness, Nanda. Tranquil sage is he, I tell you, who has mastered desire and fares on without a want or a hope.' And to Todeyya, another brāhmaṇ enquirer, the Sākyan *muni* declares (*Sn* v, 9): 'Such a one has no requirements, he wishes for nothing, his wisdom is complete, it is enough. Moreover, Todeyya, you can recognize a tranquil sage as one who is independent, one who is detached from pleasure, detached from life.'

Of him, the sagely seeker, it can be said 'he travels fastest who travels alone'—unhampered, that is, by convention and by companions who are reflexions of binding traditionalism. 'When a man has conquered craving, the lesser worries bred of convention lose their importance, and he no longer feels distressed' (*Sn* vs. 715).

'He who is free of possessions, unaffected by transciency, independent of convention—he can be called "tranquil"!' (vs. 861).

'In company there is no peace to be found indoors or out, nor on the road . . .' (vs. 40); 'In the company of another there are clashes and angry jars . . .' (vs. 49). 'Intimacy breeds trouble . . .' (vs. 207).

'Shun worthless associates with their empty talk and mundane ambitions . . .' (vs. 57).

But this is not to shun society as a whole, and even the jungle recluse is not hiding from his fellows. If the greatest purifier is the compelling of oneself to bear the displeasing manifestations of others towards oneself, we should be making a fundamental mistake if we imagined that Gotama, the *Anatta-vādī*, urged otherwise. 'Patience is the highest penance, long-suffering the best training . . .' (*Dp* vs. 184)—this has been termed the teaching of all the Buddhas. In escaping from the sorrow of life one is not an 'escapist' in the vulgar or derogatory sense of the word. On the contrary, the *samana*'s life of solitude was one of pure renunciation; and in the sophisticated world of today it is one that probably calls for even greater fortitude than was required in days of yore in an environment where asceticism was not uncommon.

'So let him wander alone, for that is the worthy life. But let him never think of himself as the better man even though he be at the threshold of *nibbāna*' (*Sn* vs. 822).

The immediate purpose, one may say, of this solitude, was to gain independence. To be alone, without social ties on the one hand and on the other without religious convention—that was freedom.

'Be content to live alone, aloof; for the independent way is the way of wisdom' (*Sn* vs. 718).

An entire *sutta*, 'The Unicorn Discourse' (*Sn* i, 3), is devoted to extolling this freedom, without which substantial progress was obviously regarded as extra difficult. 'Wild creatures wander at pleasure in search of their food: emulating this liberty, roam, like the uni-horn (of the rhinoceros) alone!' (vs. 39). 'In whichever of the four quarters you go, remain on good terms with everyone but under no obligation; taking what comes, braving all dangers, roam, like the unicorn, alone!' (vs. 42).

'Like the great elephant . . . who quits the herd to wander at pleasure in the jungle, roam . . .' For: 'Whilst a member of society, release is not to be attained even temporarily . . .' (vs. 220).¹

'The tranquil sage, being independent, makes neither friends nor enemies. Attachments and troubles do not cling to him any more than does rain to a leaf' (vs. 811).

'Tranquil sage is he, who has succeeded, who knows, who understands, who is undisturbed by things, is relieved of possessions and of desires. He it is who is free' (vs. 211).

But, Gotama warned the young brāhmaṇ Nālaka: 'Know that the way of the tranquil sage is a hard way: hard to find and hard to follow. The maxim is: "Stand firm! Be strong!"' (vs. 701).

Nevertheless: 'With wisdom to guide him and delighting in harmony, he should overcome the discomforts of his hermit life . . .' (vs. 969).

The picture is painted in its true colours, for the Middle Path is the even way between optimism and pessimism. 'The man who lives the slave to that cavern we call the body—made dark by delusion, gloomy with unsatisfied desire—is not a happy man. And the pleasures of this world are hard indeed to relinquish' (*Sn* vs. 772). But: 'The strong man is not disconcerted by trifles; and (as the lotus on its stalk rides

¹ We constantly meet the equation—No possessions: no anxiety; no attachment: no anxiety.

unsoiled above the muddy water) the tranquil sage rides unsoiled by the world and its sordid pleasures' (vs. 845).

SILENCE

In spite of the elaborate arguments that were compiled by the Buddha's later followers and which we find set out in some of the scriptures, there can be no doubt that Gotama decried the current habit of philosophical disputation, and that he counselled avoidance of challenges to wordy combat. Better it was to maintain the noble silence! If, however, his disciples could not do this, then they must attempt to 'Cultivate equanimity' and, 'Unmoved alike by blame, by praise, remain serene: neither cast down by blame nor elated by praise' (*Sn* vs. 702).

In the *Sutta Nipāta* anthology we find that no less than four of the sixteen *suttas* of the Aṭṭhaka (the *Pasūra*, *Kalahavivāda*, and *Culla-* and *Mahā-Viyūha* *Suttas*) deal with the habit—popular then and popular now!—of disputation; while others of this *Vagga* and of the *Pārā�ana* Book dwell upon the philosophical systems themselves.

But it was not only in the public preaching-hall that the aryan sage was to guard his tongue. Even in the fastness of the jungle or among the clouds upon the high mountain slopes the *muni*, having apprehended the importance and value of silence, took it with him like a mantle and regarded it—like the householder his worldly treasure—as 'golden'.

'Learn this of the waters', said the Buddha: 'Loud splatters (*sarantā*) the streamlet, the ocean's depths are silent!'

'Emptiness is loud, fullness calm. The prattling fool is like a half-filled pot, the wise man like a placid lake' (*Sn* vs. 720-1).

Upon more than one occasion the Lord adjured his *bhikkhu* followers: 'When you meet together, monks, you should do one of two things: discuss *dhamma*, or maintain the noble silence' (*M* xxvi).

'Having both knowledge and self-restraint, knowing much and saying little, such is the sage with true wisdom, such is the aryan sage' (*Sn* vs. 723).

Gotama advised his disciples not to repeat the *mantras* of the fourth *Veda*, especially those that were charms. In the discourse called 'The Quick Way' (*Sn* iv, 14), we read: 'Let him not work the spells of the *Atharva Veda*, nor interpret dreams and omens, nor practise astrology;

let not my dear disciple make predictions from the cries of birds, cure barrenness, nor practise medicine.'

At the beginning of the *Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka* Sutta (*Sn* iv, 3), a discourse in eight stanzas on corrupt talk, we find: 'Unkind people spread malicious tales, and well-intentioned people also censure; but in either case the tranquil sage remains unconcerned. Nowhere is there to be found a disconcerted sage.'

The slanderer, like the hypocrite, finds no place in aryan society: his presence were intolerable. In the Buddha's code of mere morality,¹ that 'unwritten code' of behaviour which the Indian of his day 'reckoned in him as morality'—'trifling matters, that a simple man, wishing to praise the Awakened One, might mention', it says:

'Putting away slander, Gotama the recluse holds himself aloof from calumny. What he hears here he repeats not elsewhere to raise a quarrel against the people here; what he hears elsewhere he repeats not here to raise a quarrel against the people there. Thus does he live as a binder-together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peace-maker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace.'

'Putting away rudeness of speech, Gotama the recluse holds himself aloof from harsh language. Whatsoever word is blameless, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, beloved of the people—such are words he speaks.'

'Putting away frivolous talk, Gotama the recluse holds himself aloof from vain conversation. In season he speaks, in accordance with the facts, words full of meaning, on the *Dhamma*, on the discipline of the Order. He speaks, and at the right time, words worthy to be laid up in one's heart, fitly illustrated, clearly divided, to the point' (*D* i).

'Tranquil sage indeed is he who can control his speech!' (*Sn* vs. 850).

The Buddha laid great emphasis upon Truth, and this is reflected in his insistence on Right Speech. *Sammā vācā* is, as we have seen, the third section of the Eightfold Path—and so the Middle Way itself is partly dependent upon right speaking. Gotama mentions this in his first discourse, when he set in motion the Wheel of *Dhamma*, the norm. We have seen too that speech finds its place, and in some detail, in the *sīlas* (above): our quotation there came from the Short Section. Again, in the Middle Section, we find Gotama setting the example: 'Whereas some continue addicted to such idle conversation as these:

¹ The *Sīlas*—reproduced *infra*.

tales of war, of terrors, of battles; tales about relationships, equipages, villages, towns, cities, and countries; tales about women, and about heroes; gossip at street corners, or places whence water is fetched; ghost stories; aimless chatter; speculations about the evolution of the land or sea, or about existence and non-existence—Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such idle conversation.

'Whereas some continue addicted to the use of wrangling phrases, such as: "You don't understand this doctrine and discipline, but I do." "How should *you* know about this doctrine and discipline!" "You have deviated; it is I who am in the right." "I'm speaking to the point, you're not." "You are putting last what ought to come first, and first what ought to come last." "What you've been holding forth on for so long is all to no purpose." "Your challenge has been taken up!" "You've been proved wrong." "You want to get your views sorted out." "Talk yourself out of that, if you can!"—Gotama the recluse holds aloof from such wrangling phrases' (*D* i).

'A *bhikkhu* should not tell a lie' is *Pācittiya* rule number one for the monks of the Buddha *Saṅgha*. The fourth of the *sāmañera*'s ten abstentions (*sikkhāpadas*) is the undertaking to observe the rule of abstinence from uttering untruths; and this again is the fourth of the five precepts which lay supporters of the Buddha observe, namely: 'I undertake to keep the *sīla* to abstain from lying'. It is significant that, in spite of the fact that one of the parts of the Eightfold Path is devoted to right speech, it should have been considered expedient to reproduce the injunction in the precepts. None of the other four of the five *sīlas* are enforced by such repetition.

The Buddha urged Bhikkhu Phagguna (*M* i): 'If anyone should abuse you to your face . . . should strike you with his fist or throw clods of earth at you, or beat you with a stick, or give you a blow with a sword—still should you set aside all worldly desires, all worldly considerations, training yourself thus: "My heart shall be unwavering. Not one word shall I utter. I shall remain compassionate of others' welfare, kindly, without resentment." Train yourself thus, Phagguna.'

Upon another occasion, to several *bhikkhus*: 'Monks, there are these five ways of speech that men may use to you: speech pertinent or impertinent, speech true or false, speech sympathetic or unsympathetic, speech that is profitable or profitless, speech kindly or unkind.

'When men do not use right speech with you, you should train yourselves thus: "Our hearts shall be unwavering. Not one word shall

we utter. We shall remain compassionate of others' welfare, kindly, without resentment" (ibid).

Once, when on his alms round, Gotama was repulsed by a householder with bitter words of abuse. 'Friend,' replied the Buddha, 'if a householder sets food before a beggar, but the beggar refuses to accept the food, to whom does the food then belong?' The man answered: 'To the householder, of course!' Gotama said: 'Then, if I refuse to accept your abuse and ill will, it returns to you, does it not? But I must go away the poorer because I have lost a friend' (M lxxv).

In everyday life, Right Speech often means less speech. 'Only when he knows does he say that he knows, only when he has seen does he say that he has seen' (M lxxvii). Silence is noble, noise is incompatible with spiritual progress. The aryan sage values Silence as he values Truth.

TRUTH AS A REFUGE

Gotama's closest associate and dearest disciple was his cousin Ānanda, and on his death-bed the Buddha's last words of advice to his faithful friend were:

'Be islands (*dīpā*) unto yourselves, Ānanda! Be a refuge to yourselves; do not take to yourselves any other refuge. See Truth as an island, see Truth as a refuge. Do not seek refuge in anyone but yourselves' (D xvi, 3).¹

* * *

Truth becomes synonymous with the norm, *Dhamma*, which the Buddhists called *Buddha-dhamma* and the brāhmaṇs called *Brahman* (neuter). 'There is but one Truth', repeated Gotama, time after time.

'The tranquil sage loves truth . . .' (Sn vs. 941) ' . . . stands firm on truth; having left all things, he, the true brāhmaṇ, comes to peace' (vs. 946).

And to this the interpolator added: 'The Buddha . . . he is Truth' (vs. 1133). But Gotama, the man who is reputed to have objected to being called omniscient, said merely: 'He is wise who knows the *Dhamma*' (vs. 947).

'Time there was', said the dear disciple, 'when fast in the flood, I grasped first at this isle, then at that—till suddenly I beheld the

¹ The Pāli *dīpa* means both 'island' and 'lamp'.

very Buddha. He, free of desire, had found the way to the Further Shore . . . (vs. 1145).

Here we may recollect the question that the young brāhmaṇ Kappa put to Gotama (*Sn* v, 10): 'For those caught in the stream, struggling in the whirlpools of life, faced with atrophy and death, is there no island haven, sir? Tell me of such an isle', begs the youth, 'where all perils disappear.'

The Lord replies: ' . . . I shall tell you of such an isle, Kappa, where all perils disappear.'

'We call that isle "Nibbāna". In that island haven there is no atrophy, no death: there nothing becomes, and death and life are stilled.'

'Realizing this you reach Nibbāna here and now . . .'

And to Upasīva (vs. 1070): 'Mindful that there is no tie nor possession that can hold you back; aided by the knowledge that Nothing Is, you *will* cross the flood! . . .'

* * *

'And how', continues Gotama to Ānanda, 'is a *bhikkhu* to be an island unto himself, a refuge to himself, taking to himself no other refuge, seeing Truth as an island, seeing as a refuge Truth, not seeking refuge in anyone but himself?

'Thus: as to the body (*kāya*), a *bhikkhu* continues so to regard the body that he remains alert, mindful and self-possessed, having conquered desire-attachment for the things of the world.'

(And similarly) 'as to the feelings (*yedanā*) . . . as to the states of mind (*cittā*) . . . as to mental conceptions (*dhammā*), a *bhikkhu* continues so to regard each that he remains alert, mindful and self-possessed, having conquered desire-attachment for the things of the world.'

'And whoever, Ānanda, now and after I am dead, shall be an island unto themselves and a refuge to themselves, shall take to themselves no other refuge, but seeing Truth as an island, seeing as a refuge Truth, shall not seek refuge in anyone but themselves—it is they, Ānanda, among my disciples, who shall reach the Further Shore!' (*D* xvi, 3).

Buddhist philosophy takes into account absolute Truth and relative truth. To an enquirer who asked Gotama why there were so many teachers of Truth in the world, and 'can it be said that their truth was ever Truth?' the Buddha replied:

'No truth exists at all apart from what sense perception (*saññā*) offers . . .' (*Sn* vs. 885-6).

It is because of our senses that constant mindfulness is called for. (We shall return to this important point a little later.)

'Within this very body, mortal as it is and but a fathom in length, endowed with sense impressions, with conscious mind, is the world, and the origin thereof, and the ceasing thereof, and the Way which leads to that ceasing' (*S* iv).

As the Buddha reminded the brāhmaṇ Udaya: 'We limit our world by thought' (*Sn* vs. 1109). On another occasion, when Gotama was asked to define the perfect man (*ibid.*, iv, 10), he answers: "'Tis he who has conquered craving before he disintegrates'; and continues, 'Such a one does not worry himself how the world began, nor regard the present as being fixed in time . . .' (vs. 849). 'Tranquil sage he . . . oblivious of time, beyond time' (vs. 860).

'The tranquil sage, free of all views based on things seen and heard, being relieved of his burden, is no longer subject to time . . .' (vs. 914).

Regarding the mind as the sixth sense, one has to guard against sense stimuli from within as well as from without. Remembering this, we can appreciate the conversation that the Buddha had with another brāhmaṇ, one Posāla (*Sn* v, 14):

Posāla asks: 'Sākyan, what state of mental development is his who perceives nothing in the formless,¹ nothing in form, nothing within nor without? How far has he fared?'

To which Sākyamuni replies: 'The *Tathāgata* knows all the states of consciousness, including that of the man who appreciates nothingness, and he can tell how far such a one has fared.'

'The brāhmaṇ who perceives nothing in the formless, nothing in form—nothing within nor without—is one who perceives the pain in pleasure: and that is no mean state!'²

In the following *Pucchā* (v, 15) the Buddha tells the ascetic Mogharāja the same, but in different words. 'Regard this world as void (*suññato*); being forever mindful, realizing that no self (*attā*) is (permanent): thus transcending death, Mogharāja, you will pass death by.'

¹ *Vibhūtarūpasāññissa*, where *vibhūta* means annihilated. The Niddesa commentary (i.e. 584) amplifies this with *vibhāvita atikkanta vītvivatta*, literally, annihilated or made non-existing—passed beyond—passed.

² I.e. to see all the time *dukkha* as a characteristic of life: in this way Gotama here refers to actuality.

In the Second Discourse,¹ which he gave at Isipatana near Banaras (and which follows the *Dhammacakka Pavattana* or First Discourse in natural sequence), the Awakened One declares:

'The *rūpa* (form, body), monks, is *anattā*. Were the body *attā* it would not be subject to ill, and it would be possible in the case of the *rūpa* to command: "Let my form be thus! Let not my form be thus!" But because the body is *anattā*, therefore the body is subject to ill, and it is not possible to command one's *rūpa*.'

In the same words Gotama then says as much of each of the remaining four *khandhas*—*vedanā* (sensation), *saññā* (perception), *saṅkhāra* (mental conditions and tendencies), *viññāṇa* (consciousness). This discourse deals with the most important part of the teaching and it serves as the climax of the preceding, 'First', discourse in which Gotama maps out the Eightfold Path. After amplifying the foregoing statement, that each and all the five *khandhas* are *anattā*, he concludes:

'Comprehending thus, *bhikkhus*, the aryan sage turns away from the body, from the feelings, from the perceptions, from the mental tendencies and conditions, from consciousness. Being thus detached, he is free from desire-attachment; being free from desire-attachment he is liberated, and experiences the freedom of liberation. For he knows that for him there will be no rebirth, that the religious life has reached its culmination, and accomplished is that which he set out to accomplish. He is free!'

EQUANIMITY

'What do these mental associations depend on?' asks someone (*Sn* iv, 11). '... upon what depend the impressions (*phassā*)?'

'Mental impression depends upon name and form (*nāma-rūpa*). The cause of grasping is craving—craving breeds thoughts of "my" possession; while without form (*rūpa*) there would be no mental associations.'

Plainer still is the answer to the first question raised in the *Tuvaṭaka Sutta* (*ibid.*, iv, 4):

Enquirer: 'Great Sage of solar lineage, speak of the tranquil state, of peace. How fares the peaceful *bhikkhu* who has freed himself of the ways of the world?'

Gotama: 'He must pull out delusion by the root, by thinking no

¹ I.e. the *Anattālakkhaṇa Su* (*S* iii, 1, 59)—it is reproduced *infra*.

more in terms of "I". He must be aware of all "self"-ish cravings that arise' (vs. 915-16).

'Peace comes from within: let the *bhikkhu*¹ not seek it without. Peaceful, he thinks no more of self (*attam*)—and therefore no more of not-self' (*nirattam*, or unsubstantiality—vs. 919).

And so we come to the simple statement: 'He who never thinks "This is mine", "That is his", does not see himself at a disadvantage' (vs. 951).

"I am" is a vain thought; "I am not" is a vain thought; "I shall be" is a vain thought; "I shall not be" is a vain thought. Vain thoughts are a sickness, an ulcer, a thorn. But after overcoming all vain thoughts, one is called "a silent thinker". And the thinker, the Silent One, does no more arise, no more pass away, no more tremble, no more desire. For there is nothing in him whereby he should arise again. And as he arises no more, how should he grow old again? And as he grows old no more, how should he die again? And as he dies no more, how should he tremble? And as he trembles no more, how should he have desire?" (*M* cxl).

The key to equanimity, Gotama tells his disciples over and over again, is the cultivation of awareness. Upon at least two occasions (*viñ. D* xxii and *M* x) the Buddha is recorded as having emphasized that: 'The way, monks, by which you can attain purity, can resolve trouble and disharmony, get beyond bodily and mental suffering, and tread that path which takes one to *Nibbāna*, is by the fourfold application of mindfulness.' By the practice of constant awareness, by guarding the senses, by not being led away by sense impressions (for they produce desire and they produce attachment), one becomes free. And not only are we to control our feelings, warns the Awakened One, but we should see that the objects that stimulate those sensual impressions are themselves *anattā*, unsubstantial, *anicca*, subject to decay, *dukkha*, directly or potentially disappointing. And for these reasons it can be said that in practice the process of achieving personal perfection is itself of the utmost importance.

"Being neither jealous nor greedy, but without desires, and remaining the same under all circumstances—this, in my estimation, is nobility.

¹ The word 'bhikkhu' is used sometimes in the Aññaka text instead of 'muni' because, of course, the scriptures were put into writing in later, monastic times, by monks, *bhikkhus*. We shall review the chronology of the Pāli canon later.

“When thought is purified of desire, action lacks result: this makes the calm one inviolable.

“The tranquil sage does not contrast himself with others; calm and wanting nothing, he is incomparable; he has nothing to gain, nothing to lose”—so said *Bhagavant*¹ (*Sn* vs. 952–54).

A young brāhmaṇa, Ajita, once asked the Buddha (*ibid.*, v, 1): ‘They who have tried the various philosophic systems, and they who are still searching for some sort of spirituality, the general run of men; tell me, sir, what is best for them?’

To this Gotama replies: ‘They should cease to crave for pleasure, but remain calm of mind: they should be skilfully blameless in all things, (like) mindful *bhikkhus* wandering forth.’

And to Tissa Metteyya, another earnest brāhmaṇi youth, the Sākyan philosopher says (v, 2): ‘The man who abstains from sensual pleasures, the ever mindful, peaceful *bhikkhu*, he is without upsets.

‘He it is who has the sense to cut through the clean middle path between the two extremes, him I call great; he has overcome desire.’

And again, to the ascetic Udeya (v, 13): ‘Insight comes with the abandoning of desire and lust, when one ceases to worry and to be distracted, and when one ceases to be careless and to act unskilfully.

‘It comes, I tell you, on practising awareness; it comes of tranquillity, with pondering *Dhamma*. . . .’

The *Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka* Sutta, discourse on corrupt talk (iv, 3), concludes: ‘The man who maintains this view can be identified with this view, the man who maintains that view can be identified with that view: but with what is he to be identified who adopts no view, rejects no view?’

And again (vs. 799–800): ‘He should not found nor favour any organized system of philosophy either by word or deed. He should not consider himself “better” or “worse” than another, nor “equal”.

‘Being without prejudice and favour, uninfluenced by convention, he does not associate himself with any formal religion or sect; he is not bound by any set rules.’²

It is true that it is almost impossible for us not to adopt views, for

¹ *Bhagavant*: the Lord, i.e. the Buddha.

² The obvious inconsistency between such a statement as this and the existence of the detailed Vinaya rules for the Buddha *Saṅgha* emphasizes the transformation that took place after the founder’s demise, when the ideal of personal independent effort was replaced by monastic regimentation.

they are contagious, and prejudices are foisted upon us from the moment we are born. Parents and school teachers, organized clubs and religion, newspapers, radio and cinema—all combine to hold us down to an antlike, nose-to-the-ground routine, as the result of which our minds are moulded to petty patterns, and our life becomes an automatic process of reacting to attractions and repulsions. The acceptance of precepts, and submission to (religious) authority, can be dangerous in so far as they are potential fetters to spiritual progress.

Anyone who took the Buddha's philosophy of life as their guide would have to make a serious attempt to rise above the opposites. The Awakened One's advice on this subject was (*Sn* vs. 784): 'It is hopeless to look to the prejudiced man, one with rigid ideas, the disputant, for guidance.'

'No brāhmaṇ believes that he can be purified by another, for the true brāhmaṇ remains indifferent to what he sees and hears, indifferent to dogma, indifferent to what is called "good" and "bad" . . .' (vs. 790).

'Experts are agreed that that man who labels things "bad" is thereby making it impossible for himself to see them as they really are. Therefore the *bhikkhu* should not colour what he sees and hears, nor pin his faith on virtues and achievement' (*viz.* on traditionalism—vs. 798).

We have seen that part of Gotama's system of mental culture consisted in the practice of the four applications of awareness; also that one of the last things the dying Buddha told Ānanda was that one has so to regard one's body, one's sensations, one's states of mind, and one's mental conceptions that one remains 'alert, mindful and self-possessed, having conquered desire-attachment for the things of the world'. In the second *sutta* of the Dīgha, the earliest portion of the Pāli *nikāyas*, we read the following passage—it was spoken to King Ajātasattu, who ascended the throne of the United Kingdom of Aṅga-Magadha in or about the year 491 B.C.—that is, some eight years before Gotama died. By this time the Buddha *Saṅgha* had been formed, and several monasteries had been established in Magadha for the Awakened One and his monks, some of which houses had been gifted by Ajātasattu's father, King Bimbisāra. The young monarch was making enquiries as to the sort of life led by some of the Sākyan sage's *bhikkhus*; he had pointed out the advantages derived to various nobles and other laymen from their respective occupations, and asked Gotama what benefits accrue to one leading the life of the *saṃnya*.

The Buddha explains that the greatest benefit is derived from

guarding one's senses, and this his disciples learn to do. 'And how, O king, is the *bhikkhu* guarded as to the doors of his senses?' begins the Teacher.

'When, O king, he sees an object with his eye he is not entranced in the general appearance or the details of it. He sets himself to restrain that which might give occasion for evil states, covetousness and dejection, to flow in over him so long as he dwells unrestrained as to his sense of sight. He keeps watch upon his faculty of sight, and he attains to mastery over it. And so, in like manner, when he hears a sound with his ear, or smells an odour with his nose, or tastes a flavour with his tongue, or feels a touch with his body, or when he cognizes a phenomenon with his mind he is not entranced in the general appearance or the details of it. He sets himself to restrain that which might give occasion for evil states, covetousness and dejection, to flow in over him so long as he dwells unrestrained as to his mental (representative) faculty. He keeps watch upon his representative faculty, and he attains to mastery over it. And endowed with this self-restraint, so worthy of honour, as regards the senses, he experiences, within himself, a sense of ease into which no evil state can enter. Thus it is, O king, that the monk becomes guarded as to the doors of his senses' (*D* ii, 64).

In the *Kāma Sutta*, the discourse on desire with which the *Attīhaka* opens, we find (*Sn* vs. 768):

'He who keeps on his guard against sensual pleasures as he would against treading on a snake, he, ever watchful, avoids the danger of desire.'

'Therefore be ever watchful, avoiding sensual pleasures, throwing out desire; so bailing out your ship, cross the flood to the safety of the Further Shore' (vs. 771).

To Sāriputta, an erudite brāhmaṇ who became Gotama's right-hand man, the Buddha described the efficient disciple as one who, 'Not loitering but proceeding in an orderly fashion . . . is ever mindful and self-possessed. Having attained equanimity, he will resolve all the doubts and troubles in his mind' (vs. 972).

In the *Mahā Vagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the major of the two *khandhakas* composed by learned monks as corollaries of the monastic rules based on the early *Pātimokkha*, the *bhikkhus'* demeanour is discussed, and applicable discourses given by the Teacher are quoted:

'... the aryan disciple disregards the eye and he disregards material

shapes and he disregards consciousness through the eye and he disregards impingement in the eye, in other words the feeling which arises from impingement on the eye, be it pleasant or painful or neither painful nor pleasant, that too he disregards. And he disregards the ear and he disregards sounds, and he disregards the nose and he disregards odours, and he disregards the tongue and he disregards tastes, and he disregards the body and he disregards tangible objects, and he disregards the mind and he disregards mental states and he disregards consciousness through the mind and he disregards impingement on the mind, be it pleasant or painful or neither painful nor pleasant, that too he disregards; disregarding he is dispassionate; through dispassion he is freed; in freedom the knowledge comes to be, "I am freed", and he knows: Destroyed is birth, lived is the holy life, done is what was to be done, there is no more of being such or such.'

'Seeing in this way, monks, the aryan disciple disregards body¹ and he disregards feeling¹ and he disregards perception¹ and he disregards the habitual tendencies¹ and he disregards consciousness¹; disregarding he is dispassionate; through dispassion he is freed; in freedom the knowledge comes to be, "I am freed", and he knows: Destroyed is birth, lived is the holy life, done is what was to be done, there is no more of being such or such' (*MV* i).

'Even if shapes cognisable by the eye come very strongly into the field of vision of a monk whose mind is wholly freed, they do not obsess his mind for his mind comes to be undefiled, firm, won to composure, and he notes its passing hence. If sounds cognisable by the ear . . . if scents cognisable . . . if tastes cognisable . . . if touches cognisable . . . if mental objects cognisable by the mind come very strongly into the field of thought of a monk whose mind is wholly freed, they do not obsess his mind for his mind comes to be undefiled, firm, won to composure, and he notes its passing hence' (*ibid.*, v²).

'I shall explain it to you thus', says Gotama (to Mettagū—*Sn* vs. 1053): 'A here and now *Dhamma* this; no mere legend. Simply by grasping it, faring mindfully one reaches the Further Shore!'

'I shall explain it to you thus: A here and now peace this . . .' (vs. 1066).

¹ *rūpa—vedanā—saññā—saṅkhāra—viññāna.*

² *BD* 4, pp. 243-4.

PEACE HERE AND NOW

The Buddha: 'The senses breed desire-attachment: abandoning desire-attachment in this world takes one *Nibbāna*-wards.

'Realizing this you reach *Nibbāna* here and now—being forever mindful, you obviate all the desires in the world' (vs. 1086-7).

'One who has abandoned desire-attachment and is past all doubting has reached the goal'—so said the Lord' (vs. 1089).

'For such as I there are no views, no precepts, no systems,' said Bhagavant. 'For even the philosophical systems themselves produce sorrow: studying them brought me the knowledge of this, so understanding, I found 'inward peace' ' (vs. 837).

'Peace comes from within . . . As all is calm in the ocean's depths where no waves rise, so the *bhikkhu* is calm when no waves of desire rise to disturb him' (vs. 919-20).

'Transcend your shady past, admit no new imperfection: and so proceed in peace' (vs. 949 and 1099).

A word here regarding *kamma*. Action produces a dual result: one immediate and one timeless. Let us take, as an example of this, the case where someone is standing upon a crowded railway platform and, turning suddenly, unintentionally knocks against somebody who consequently falls on to the rail track and is killed. The immediate result (to the *instigator*) of this accident is that he becomes involved in the case in the mundane sense: his name and address are taken, he has to give evidence, to testify as a witness; he may even be suspected and tried for murder. Such is the immediate result of the act.

The timeless result depends entirely upon the instigator's volition, and its effect is upon his character. It may take place soon or it may be deferred to a later life and, hence, it is not to be related to time. If—as in the case that we have imagined above—the act is accidental (i.e. made without volition, not willed) there can be no reaction upon the character.

The example we have given illustrates, incidentally, the difference that exists between the Buddhist and the Christian standpoints. If the *instigator* that we have posited were Christian, he would be considered morally guiltless. The Buddhist, on the other hand, would be blame-worthy in so far as he was unmindful: when he suddenly turned upon the platform he was neglecting to practise awareness. His

act would be described—not as 'bad', and still less as 'evil', but—'unskilful'.¹

We are now in the position to consider the relationship that exists between *kamma* and the enlightened being who has reached *Nibbāna*; or, more precisely: what are the results of the actions of that person during the period between *Nibbāna* and *Pari-nibbāna*. The answers are: as regards (1) the immediate result of an act, the enlightened one remains calm and indifferent to such.² As regards (2) the result upon the character: it is nil; for his character is already perfected, wholesome, beyond time, detached. He has no personal desires, not a want nor a hope that is tinged with *attā*, and therefore he does not will, does not crave, nor become attached. 'When thought is purified of desire, action lacks result' (*Sn* vs. 952). It was willing, wanting, desire, that had kept him going as a process; but that now has ceased.

THE PĀLI CANON

When Buddhism spread beyond India, *Mahāyāna*³ was the vehicle adopted in the countries north of the Himālayas, and *Hīnayāna*³ in Southern Asia. We must not confuse this loose geographical distinction of North and South with the 'Northern' and 'Southern' Buddhist traditions of India itself—the Sanskrit literature of Sarvāstivāda (P. *Sabbatthavāda*) in North-West India (and Nepāl), and the Pāli scriptures and commentaries of Theravāda (Skt.: *Shaviravāda*) in South-West and South India (and Ceylon). (See Maps V and VI.)

The canon of sacred literature handed down by the Theravādin Buddhists is, in its original concise Pāli language, four times the size of the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible. It is divided into three main sections: Vinaya Piṭaka, Sutta Piṭaka, and Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

Piṭaka means 'basket', the receptacle in which the *bhikkhu* scribes stored the dried palm leaves on which the scriptures were first written.

¹ And this will help us to appreciate the definition of *sammā kammanta*—section 4 of the Eightfold Path—as 'acting skilfully' (p. 39 *supra*).

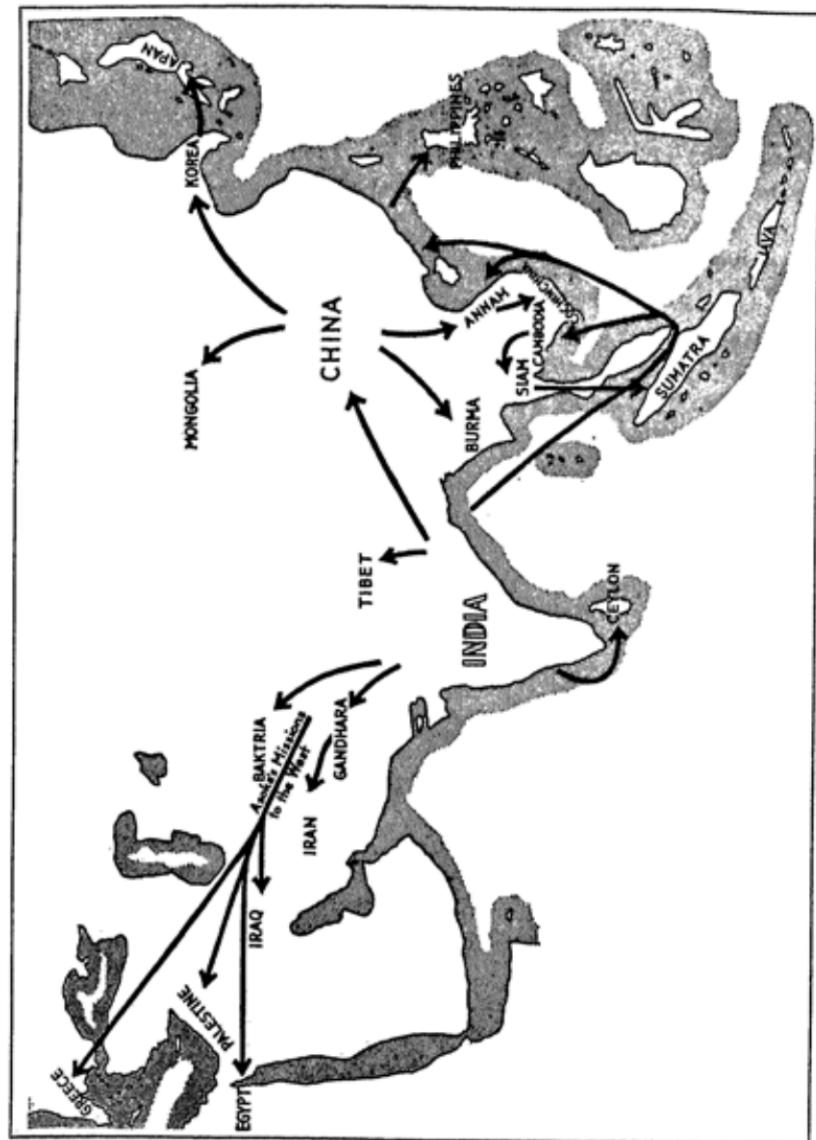
It follows that he who breaks a precept knowingly is less blameworthy than the man who is ignorant that the precept exists, for he is additionally blameworthy on account of his ignorance. A Buddhist can never legitimately 'plead ignorance'; but through his mistakes he acquires knowledge.

² Such indifference is not to be mistaken for callousness or absence of compassion.

³ See Glossary.



MAP V
Distribution of the Indian Buddhist Sects



MAP VI
The Spread of Buddhism beyond India

This type of basket one still sees in India being passed, from hand to hand, down a line of labouring coolies. Similarly was the sublime *Dhamma* passed on from teacher to pupil in collections of *suttas*, the sacred threads of the Teaching—for literally *sutta* means ‘thread’. (We may compare the English expression ‘not losing the thread of the story’.)

The first Piṭaka, the Vinaya, contains the rules and regulations of the Saṅgha. The Sutta Piṭaka, the ‘basket of discourses’, is divided into five *nikāyas* (sections): Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara, and Khuddaka. The Abhi-dhamma Piṭaka, the ‘After *Dhamma*’, consists of an analytical presentation of the *Dhamma*.

It was almost five hundred years after the Buddha Gotama had set in motion the Wheel of the Law or *Dhamma* that the canon was first committed to writing. Previous to that the teaching had been passed down orally. The great bulk of the Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas are earlier than the third or Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

Thus, in the Pāli Canon, ‘*dhamma*’ means the philosophy, wisdom and truth as propounded by the Buddha Gotama in his *suttas* or discourses, as distinct from the Vinaya and from that which comes after the *Dhamma*, the *abhi-dhamma*, and, of course, from the copious legends and commentaries.

The Table on page 68 sets out the principal sections and books of the Pāli Canon.

Many of the old Pāli *suttas* open with the words: *Evam me sutam*, ‘Thus have I heard!’ This formula is an interesting relic of the days of oral transmission. The monks who recited the discourses after the death of the Teacher—the *bhāṇakas*—were scrupulously truthful and they carefully guarded themselves against narrating inaccurately; and by means of this initial declaration they pre-excused themselves for any lapses in this respect which they might commit in the course of their recitations: that is, against any deviation from, or misrepresentation of, the *Buddhavacana*, ‘Buddha-word’.

It was this keen appreciation of the truth which accounts, too, for much of the repetition that we find throughout the Pāli Canon; for such repetition served as evidence that the words were, in fact, being faithfully rendered. The mnemonic value of such repetition was also of great importance.

In several *suttas*, ‘*evam me sutam*’ is followed by a *nidāna* or exordium, which records the alleged occasion or circumstance that gave

rise to the exposition of the discourse. As an example, the *nidāna* of the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta reads: 'Once when the Awakened One was among the Kuru people he visited the market town of Kammassādhamma . . .' In the Sutta Vibhaṅga of the Vinaya the *nidānas* became very elaborate.

From the early days of the Saṅgha there was evident a tendency to versify the *suttas*, to learn the *Dhamma* in metre (*chandaso*), and to transmit it so. (The same tendency exists in India and Ceylon today.)

THE THREE (TI) PIṭAKA

I. VINAYA PIṭAKA: Sutta Vibhaṅgā

Khandhakā: Mahā Vagga and Culla Vagga
Parivāra.

II. SUTTA PIṭAKA: 1 Digha Nikāya

- 2 Majjhima Nikāya
- 3 Samyutta Nikāya
- 4 Aṅguttara Nikāya
- 5 Khuddaka Nikāya:

(1) Khuddaka Pāṭha	(2) Dhammapada	(3) Udāna
(4) Iti Vuttaka	(5) Thera Gāthā	(6) Therī Gāthā
(7) Sutta Nipāta	(8) Niddesā	(9) Vimāna Vatthu
(10) Peta Vatthu	(11) Jātaka	(12) Apadāna
(13) Paṭisambhidā Magga	(14) Buddha Vāraṇsa	(15) Cariyā-piṭaka.

III. ABHIDHAMMA PIṭAKA:

(1) Dhamma Saṅgaṇi	(2) Vibhaṅga
(3) Dhātu Katha	(4) Puggala Paññatti
(5) Kathā Vatthu	(6) Yamaka
(7) Paṭṭhāna	

Very wisely this was forbidden the monks—by the Buddha himself, it is said—for the danger is, indeed, one which is obvious: that of sacrificing the sense to the expediencies of metre and rhyme.¹ Nevertheless we have some of the most valuable discourses of the canon in verse—in very fine, concise Pāli verse—although often there is exhibited a propensity to over-indulge in assonance and other word play.

In the Sutta Piṭaka another characteristic is the early development of the *mātikā*, classified lists of subjects for analysis, which ultimately

¹ The practice is condemned at *CV* v (*BD* 5, p. 194). It is significant that in many of the ancient epics of literature, it is the conversational matter which is reproduced in verse.

superseded the style of the old narratives and developed into the characteristically monastic one of the Abhidhamma.

THE PĀLI LANGUAGE¹

‘Pāli’ was not originally the name of any language. The word means ‘text’—that is, the text of the Canon, as opposed to Commentary. For Theravādin Buddhists, the word holds something of the sacredness that ‘gospel truth’ does for Christians.

But it has to be admitted that the traditional story which is repeated in the southern Buddhist countries of Asia to the effect that Gotama was personally responsible for all the utterances attributed to him in the Three Piṭakas, and that they were rehearsed at the conference which his followers held at Rājagaha a few months after his demise, is quite untenable.

The language Pāli, like Sanskrit, was and is written in various scripts. The Pāli Canon was first recorded in Ceylon in the first century B.C. It was done so in Sinhala characters—by stencilling *ōla* leaves with stylus and treating with *dummālā* oil.

Although a dead language, Pāli exhibits both onomatopoeia and pleonasm, but this only proves that it derived from a language that was living, as Basic English does from the vernacular. The onomatopoeia and the pleonasm that we come across in the written Pāli has been found to resemble the idiom of the people of Sānchī, and of Ujjeni (*Ujjayinī*, modern Ujjain, C.P.), the ancient capital of Avantī. The language of the Pāli Canon is, therefore, connected with Māgadhi, the dialect of the Maghadese overlords of mid-Western India. Traces of Māgadhi are more frequent in the verse passages of the Pāli texts.

Doctor Bimala Churn Law has pointed out that, in the Pāli, ‘to a large extent apparent dialectical deposits and scholastic formations occur. But in spite of this rather heterogeneous character of the Pāli language, a chronological development, a division of the history of the language in periods, a sort of stratification is clearly seen’.² This is most important to the task of segregating those passages of the canonical writings which reflect the earliest version of Buddhist teaching, because such strata in the development of the Pāli language

¹ The Pāli alphabet is given in Appendix B *infra*.

² Law: *A History of Pāli Literature*, 2 vols. p. 258. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., London 1933.

THE PĀLI CANON

THE (3) PIṬAKAS

(1)
Vinaya Piṭaka
(Sutta Vibhaṅga,
Khandhaka, Parivāra)

Dīgha Nikāya
Majjhima Nikāya
Samyutta Nikāya
The 4 *Agamas*

(2)
Sutta
Piṭaka

(3)
Abhidhamma Piṭaka
(7 books)

Khuddaka Nikāya

Āṅguttara Nikāya

The 4 *Agamas*

Niddesa (*Sn* com.)
Sutta Nipāta
Theri Gāthā
Thera Gāthā
Iti Vuttaka
Udāna
Dhammapada
Khuddaka Piṭaka

Vimāna Vatthu
Peta Vatthu
Jātaka
Apadāna
Patisambhida Magga
Buddha Vāmsa
Cariyāpiṭaka

CHART B

must represent something of the chronology of the redactions of the texts themselves.

CHRONOLOGY OF PĀLI LITERATURE

Chart B displays the sections of the Pāli Canon, but the order in which the books are named in it bears little relation to any chronological sequence. Certainly the pure gem of the untarnished *Saddhamma* of the Buddha Gotama does repose among the glosses and embellishments, among the analytic complications and pious legends and the sententious—and sometimes misleading—commentarial appendages which during the years were woven round it, to form the bulk of the literature of Pāli Buddhism. By examining the canonical books and dissecting their contents we can, at least, learn to distinguish between that pristine philosophy of life as taught by Gotama, the Aryan Sage of Sākya, as against later development of a more general religious complexion. Thanks to the ancient oral tradition, we can today hope to distinguish between what the words of the Buddha meant to his hearers and immediate disciples, and what—on the other hand—his monkish followers represented those words as meaning when, 500 years later, they compiled the first Pāli books. In order that we may do this, however, a considerable and not unlaborious study would be required which some readers, even Buddhist, might well find uninteresting, especially if they lacked a knowledge of the Pāli language. We shall, therefore, deal with the findings of our enquiry as briefly as possible.

In assessing the age and orthodoxy of the contents of the individual books of the Pāli Canon, the first thing to be done is to classify them according to the four stages that are clearly represented in the canonical literature as a whole. These stages are:

- (1) The Pristine, Ascetic stage—philosophical;
- (2) The Monastic stage—disciplinary;
- (3) The Moralistic stage—religious;
- (4) The 'Legendary' stage—commentarial.

Unfortunately it is not possible simply to list our Pāli books each under one of the above four headings, because several of these works are intermediate in character, being representative of two of our four stages, while others are anthologies pure and simple.

THE PRISTINE, ASCETIC STAGE

This is the first stage of primitive Buddhism, representative of the wandering ascetic Gotama and his fellow 'homeless ones' who led, before the time of monasteries, a purely eremitic existence. The teaching of the Buddha was indeed philosophical in nature, austere, stoical. The men who were striving for release from the disappointment, disillusion and general unsatisfactoriness of mundane life accomplished this only by making a supreme, personal effort, and by the steadfast practice of contemplation. Individual self-perfection led to the Absolute Perfection of *Nibbāna*.

In the first stage we find Gotama's philosophy presented as a psychology in which moderation and detachment are extolled, desire, prejudice, and ill-will repudiated. Broad principles of life are set out—from which the systematized formulae and lists of precepts of the subsequent stages of Buddhism came in time to be worked out.

The Buddha made it clear that *Nibbāna* could be attained here and now. A jungle glade or a cave on a mountain slope sufficed to accommodate the recluse, for the ideal locus was one of solitude; and silence, including the guarding of one's speech (which so often means the curtailment of speech), was practised and valued. Convention, traditionalism were eschewed, despised; and in such circumstances as these, rigid rules were regarded as fetters, as hindrances to that personal liberty of the spirit which was the obvious and essential prerequisite to the higher and permanent Liberation, *Nibbāna*.

Throughout the Pāli Canon one finds individual items of *Dhamma* iterated as stock quotations, as one does, also, a few episodes which recur in the books in identical words.¹ Unfortunately there is little proof other than that of their doctrinal historicity to indicate whether the repetition of these texts was not due to their subsequent popularity with the monk scribes who wrote them, rather than to any genuine antiquity. The collection of such repetitions, in their Pāli context, would certainly be instructive; but such a labour is extremely difficult where translations are being made use of, in which different translators naturally render individual Pāli words differently. We shall merely

¹ 'One thing only have I taught and do I teach: sorrow and the elimination of sorrow', 'Everything that is subject to origination is also subject to cessation', are two of many examples. The *Saṅgīti Su* (*D* xxxiii) contains a string of such passages threaded, as it were, together.

note, then, that a number of such stock quotes do occur, and that many of them must represent the earliest proverbs of *Buddha-dhamma*.

THE SUTTA NIPĀTA

Turning from individual texts to the books of the Canon, it is the Sutta Nipāta (of the Khuddaka Nikāya) which first claims attention. For it has been found that of all the Pāli books, the Sutta Nipāta contains what is undoubtedly the earliest recorded version of Gotama's philosophy of life. As its name implies, *Suttanipāta*, 'A group of discourses', is an anthology.

Whereas in the macrocosmic Pāli Canon the student learns to differentiate between the books of which it is composed, when we come to the microcosmic Sutta Nipāta we have to differentiate between the individual discourses and dialogues that comprise the collection. This is not so difficult a task as it might seem; on the one hand the Sutta Nipāta contains a portion, Upanishadic in style, whose *suttas* by their character and contents give us the *buddha* Gotama's *dhamma* in a truly pristine setting; on the other hand the collection contains *suttas* of a very different character which, in spite of their ethical content, came to be used as the popular *mantras* of the religionists who followed the Teacher by two centuries or more—*suttas* that are still used in Theravādin countries of South Asia as ward runes in *paritta* chanting, an animistic rite in which spirits (*devas*) are charmed, and one which to some Western students may seem foreign to, and unworthy of, the brave and lofty ideal of independent endeavour held by Sākyamuni and his fellow *munis*.

The Sutta Nipāta, as we have it today, consists of five Books or *vaggas*:

- I. Uraga Vagga, the Snake Book, of 12 *suttas* (vs. 1-221),
- II. Culla Vagga, the Short Book, of 14 *suttas* (vs. 222-404),
- III. Mahā Vagga, the Long Book, of 12 *suttas* (vs. 405-765),
- IV. Aṭṭhaka Vagga, the Book of Eights, of 16 *suttas* (vs. 766-975),
- V. Pārāyana Vagga, the Book of the Ideal, of 17 *pucchās* (vs. 976-1149 including prologue and epilogue).

With the exception of a few individual *suttas*, the contents of the

first three Books are considerably less old than are the Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana Vaggas, of which the former contains the more ancient material. The most notable exception among the individual discourses is the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta, which is number 3 in Book I, while discourse no. 12—the Muni Sutta—shows all the signs of being very nearly as ancient. Suttas 1 and 2 of the Uraga Vagga (*Uraka Su* and *Dhaniya Su*) are also very old, as are, in the Mahā Vagga, parts of Pabbajjā Su, Padhāna Su and Sela Su, and the whole of Salla Su and of Nālaka Su except the *vattugāthā* (introductory or explanatory stanzas). With these as the chief exceptions, the remainder of Books I and III, and the whole of Book II, are considerably younger; and it is evident that the compilers or ultimate editors of our Sutta Nipāta were unconcerned with (if not altogether ignorant of) the twin subjects of chronology and historicity. But here we meet the problem of *Buddhavacana*—the accepted authenticity of words put into the mouth of the Buddha by monks who lived many years after his death—a problem which has caused much confusion to honest students of *Buddha-dhamma* and one which we shall elucidate later.¹

The difference of period portrayed in the 'early' and 'later' portions of the Sutta Nipāta anthology is sometimes startling. On one page we are with the great *muni* from the North, the *buddha* named Gotama; on the next page we are weaving legendary reminiscences of The Buddha who has been dead two hundred years or more. Sometimes, however, one comes across an antique stanza in a less archaic setting, like an old tree round which a new garden has been laid out, and this we know is a characteristic of some other books of the canon (notably the *Udāna* and *Jātaka*).²

Throughout the Sutta Nipāta there is a noteworthy absence of reference to an eightfold path, to the three characteristics of life, to the five *khandhas*, the *abhiññā* (higher spiritual powers), to *jhāna*(s—plural), and to the three refuges (in the conventional triad Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha); nor is there any allusion to nuns. The explanation of this is that in the earliest discourses of the anthology these things were not yet specified, while in the later *suttas* they had already been

¹ The first mention of a Sutta Nipāta is made in the *Milindapañha*, a Pāli book probably translated from the Sanskrit of North-West India, of the second or first century B.C.

² In the Sutta Nipāta, verse 728 in the *Dvayatānupassana Su* (iii, 12) is a good example of this.

fully described (in the copious four *Āgamas* which precede them chronologically—which see later).

We have already quoted freely from the pristine portions of the Sutta Nipāta in illustration of the Muni Ideal. The lonely life which was considered to be the most worthy life we find extolled in the Eighties and in the Unicorn and Muni Discourses of the Snake Book. (And in view of the regimentation that was to take possession of Buddhism from the days of the *Pāṭimokkha*, of the Vinaya rules of the *Buddha-Sarīgha*—which we discuss *infra*—it must be stressed that here, in these 'earlier' sections of the Sutta Nipāta, not only are no rules laid down, but such are actually scorned. Liberty, individual endeavour functioning in an environment of freedom, was obviously considered by Gotama as essential.)

Here, in the oldest portions of the anthology, the Further Shore stands out clearly: it is Peace of mind, here and now! and the Way Across to it is no less clear. The distance seems far, and the mighty Flood often looks impassable; but the visibility is rare and good and the brāhmaṇ true does not look back. Life, to be sure, is full of sorrow; but the brave heart is not to despair! True 'Āryan' is he who sets his face towards continuity's end in this very lifetime, ere he disintegrates. The good fight is to be fought, and the victory won, *now*. The tranquil sage, steadfast in his endeavour, is not put off with hopes of a rebirth more advantageous than the present; dependence upon the hereafter were a weakness. Gotama ignored alike the future and the past: to him the all-important thing was ever today. The task—like the world in which the *muni* lives—is altogether positive. It is seen as a fight, but a fight which was fought without calling in metaphysics, ethics, authority, and direction, without rules and precedents and conventions, and, most of all, without theories; free of the fetters resulting from mental and physical sense perception or impressions—in a word, without any sort of attachment,—with untied hands!

As one reads the extraordinary discourses and dialogues of the Aṭṭhaka, one at times obtains the impression that tranquil sages are attaining release before one's eyes—and before the blessed All-Compassionate teacher. Gotama is there, though often silent. His mere presence it is that oftentimes seems to make the attainment of liberation possible, nay, easy. How exactly does this happen? By losing the self in mental absorption, in pure contemplation. It is difficult even to put into words; but that it was happening the reader is left in no doubt at

all. However, an ultimate that is beyond the sphere of intellectual grasp, which eludes the contradictions of opposites and recognizes paradox as the rule instead of the exception, defies description in the same way that wisdom escapes the man whose knowledge is not tempered with understanding (*ñāna*).

When we come to the Pārāyanā Vagga we are conscious of a slight but subtle change. Questions are being asked, and attempts are being made, for the first time on record, to describe that which previously had been conveyed in silence. Disciples are trying to repeat the miracles, and often succeeding. Inevitably some sort of system comes to be worked out. The Ideal is put into words; the Way is surveyed, the Path marked out, the Goal assessed. . . .

Reports of attainment spread far and wide. They attract crowds. Regulation becomes necessary: rules are mooted; uniforms—of mind as of body—introduced. The sage from Sākyā, the greatest of all the *munis*, has passed away. All too fleeting, the glorious years of attainment fade upon the relentless wings of *anicca*.

In the *suttas* of Books I, II and III (with the exceptions already noted) we hear no more of the *muni*, but rather of the *bhikkhu* and the *arahant*, and of a *Saṅgha*, 'The Saṅgha'. The *Tathāgata* has been replaced by the *Saṅgha*. The *Saṅgha* provides merit.

Finally we are left with the simple villager, and with the *devas* and *bhūtas*, the spirits and ghosts and legends of an India far removed from the pure rationality of the Buddha's *Saddhamma*. . . .

* * *

When we examine the language of the 'earlier' Sutta Nipāta texts, we find the loose syntax which is characteristic of very primitive literature. Sometimes there is a complete disregard of number, both verbs and nouns coming in the singular where elsewhere they are plurals, while occasionally dependent nouns and verbs are written irregularly in one and the same sentence. In places there is an arbitrary use of the present and past tenses, the choice of which then falls to the translator. And at times one or two words stand alone, with no connexion to previous context, and here again the meaning has to be inferred or assumed.

The translator who seeks to make it his criterion that a stranger hitting upon any verse at random may obtain a lucid understanding thereof, finds himself in difficulties in so mixed a bag as the Sutta Nipāta.

Sir Muttu Cumaraswamy of Ceylon, the first translator of the Sutta Nipāta into English (1874), abandoned the struggle after the first *sutta* of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga. Certainly, in the rendering of several of the most important of the Pāli words, the interpreter of this anthology discovers how hard it is to remain consistent. For example: '*nāma-rūpa*' can be translated as 'mind and body' in a number of passages; then one comes upon a stanza in which 'mind and body' is quite unfitting. This sort of thing constantly occurs when one reaches the Pārāyana, where over and over again the translator finds himself obliged to discard his first choice of a simple idiomatic noun (and less often, verb) and replace it with a word that is more metaphysically technical and one, therefore, which the reader may find a little strange—until, of course, he proceeds through the text from the beginning. Thus, to return to our example of *nāma-rūpa*: 'mind and body' has eventually to go in favour of 'name-form'. (As we have already observed, some of the Pāli epithets and appellations possess no specific equivalent in the English language—nor, in fact, in Occidental thought.)

Throughout the Buddhist scriptures—and particularly in Pārāyana—questions are set down in such a manner as to appear to have been framed to fit the answers, with the result that they seem artificial and sound to European readers rather dry and academic in translation; and related closely to this is the Indian custom of repeating word for word in the answer much of the question. The outcome of all this is a certain amount of repetition and woodenness in the English text which Occidentals at first find strange; but these characteristics often carry a certain charm of their own, and on the whole they are indicative of a faithful rendering of the original Pāli.

The oldest *sutta* in the Snake Book, the first chapter of Suttanipāta, is undoubtedly the famous 'Unicorn Discourse', *Khaggavisāṇasutta*. It is commented on in Culla Niddesa, which treatise is actually regarded as being itself canonical. *Khaggavisāṇasutta* is often translated literally as 'Rhinoceros Sutta'; but the message which it conveys makes it clear that the point of the refrain '*eko care khaggavisāṇa kappo*', '(let the *muni*) wander alone, like the (uni-horn of the) rhinoceros', is the '*eko*' and not '*khaggavisāṇa*', the singularity of the horn rather than of the rhinoceros itself. Moreover, zoologists have never described this animal as being other than gregarious; while verses 53 and 72 become absurd if rendered: 'Like the great elephant . . . who quits the herd to wander at pleasure in the jungle, roam, like the rhinoceros', 'Like the

lion, the strong, the king of beasts, who haunts many a distant lair, roam, like the rhinoceros'. Indeed, the *motif* of the discourse is independence—material liberty, so as to gain that spiritual freedom which is the chief characteristic of the *muni* or tranquil sage.

This same principle, of individual freedom, is upheld in the Muni Sutta, which comes twelfth in the chapter.¹ Next in antiquity come the Uraga and Dhaniya Suttas, numbers 1 and 2 in the chapter, the first of which supplies the *vagga*'s title. The remaining *suttas* of the Book I are considerably younger. Cunda and Mettā Suttas are probably the least so, and after them the Hemavata Sutta; while the Vijaya Sutta appears to be the youngest in the canto.

The Mettā Sutta deals with the first of the four *Brahmavihāras* and it is today one of the three favourite *suttas* used in *paritta* ceremonies. The two other 'ward runes' which in the Theravādin countries remain as popular as is Mettāsutta, are the Ratana and the Mahāmarigala Suttas, which are numbers 1 and 4 of the Short Book, *Culla Vagga*. All the discourses in this, the second chapter, appear to be quite late by comparison with Āṭhaka and Pārāyana, and the two we have named above are among the latest of all. They have been not inaccurately described as 'monastic fabrications', the outcome of a rabid preoccupation in *devas* and *bhūtas*, in spirits wholesome and hostile. The custom of inviting supra- and infra-human denizens to join in the worship of the Buddhists' *tiratana*—the three jewels Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha—is certainly indicative of considerable communal religious movement away from the self-reliant, feet-on-the-ground austerity which constituted the *munis*' criteria. The Ratana Sutta has, indeed, been pointed to as being perhaps the youngest of all the poems of the Sutta Nipāta anthology.

The Āmagandha, Nāvā, Kimsila and Sammāparibbājaniya Suttas contain the least late material of which the discourses of the Short Book are composed.

The Long Chapter, *Mahā Vagga*, contains some archaic material, of which the Sulla and Nālaka Suttas are the most striking examples (though in the latter, the *vattu-gāthā* are obvious interpolations). Nālakasutta is a good specimen of the early religious ballad poetry

¹ The *Khadgavishṇa-gathā* of the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* contains fewer stanzas than the Pāli version. *Muni Su*, as well as *Nālaka Su* (*Sn* iii, 11), also occur constrictively in this canonical book of the Lokuttara Mahāsaṅghikas (an important sect of early Indian Buddhism).

which we find in the *Sutta Nipāta*, as also are the *Pabbajā* and *Pandhāna* *Suttas*. None of the other discourses of this canto bear the imprint of antiquity. *Selasutta*, like all the later discourses in *Suttanipāta*, opens with the *Evaṁ me sutaṁ* prefix, whereas the *Salla Sutta* is considerably terser in style and is exceptional (here) in not being a narrative. But at the same time, when we say that the other *suttas* of this Book do not bear the imprint of antiquity we must record the usual reservation that—as already stated—some of them contain individual stanzas that are of considerable age—as an example of which we have cited above verse 728 in the *Dvayatānupassana Sutta*, which is the last discourse of this Book.

Atṭhaka Vagga is often translated ‘The Book of the Eights’. The title of this chapter is derived from the fact that four of its *suttas* (numbers 2, 3, 4 and 5) are octads or discourses set out in eight stanzas apiece; and although all the material of this chapter is very antique indeed, it is likely that the *Kāma Sutta*, which comes first in the series, is not quite so old as the *Guhaṭṭhaka*, the *Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka*, the *Suddhaṭṭhaka* and the *Paramaṭṭhaka*, the octad lyrics which immediately follow it.

All translators and other scholars who have made a study of the *Atṭhaka Vagga* agree that it is undoubtedly the oldest portion of *Suttanipāta*, if not of the entire *tipiṭaka*; that it contains more remnants of primitive Buddhism than any other record which we possess. Both the contents of its *suttas* and their language testify to its great antiquity. The eight introductory verses to the sixteenth discourse—*Sāriputta Sutta*—are clearly out of period with the context of the remainder, and must therefore be regarded as an interpolation, albeit an early one.

It is possible that, having read this *vagga*, one may suspect an inconsistency in that practically all of the first thirteen *suttas* stress a hearty denial of rule and regulation which sometimes amounts to scorn (one of the several examples being verse 900: ‘do not cling to lists of “dos” and “don’ts” nor subscribe to any code that apportions merit and disgrace, but remain independent’); while in the 14th, 15th, and 16th discourses we find, under ‘discipline’, a quantity of exhortations and prohibitions set out for *bhikkhus*. How to reconcile this if the three last *suttas* were not later? Although, on the one hand, we evidently have here the seeds of subsequent laws, the denial in the first thirteen discourses is one of that spiritual regimentation such as must only end in spiritual suicide; whereas what is offered later under

discipline is no more than common-sense advice free of compulsion and penalty—like the rain-shelter at the 'bus stand, the use or not of which neither prohibits nor ensures to the traveller the catching of his conveyance. The important factor here is that such precepts were not compulsory, but were regarded merely as crutches which must ultimately be discarded. It was just when it *was* thought necessary to enforce discipline that the days of pristine Buddhism became numbered. The germs of systematization that are apparent when we move on to the Pārāyana have to do with *dhamma* rather than with *vinaya*, with a way of life rather than with the right way of living.

Pārāyana, 'The Book of the Ideal', is the final canto of the anthology. In it is discussed the aim or goal of the Buddhist. This important *vagga* consists of a number of questions (*pucchās*) which were supposed to have been put to the Buddha by a procession of sixteen orthodox brāhmaṇs. Legend has it that each of these earnest young enquirers, impressed by the wisdom of Gotama's replies, became followers of the Sage whose philosophy they had expected to refute.

To the Pārāyana proper were added a prologue and epilogue in support of this legend, *vattugāthā* of apparently much later composition. Approximately one-third of the *pucchās* comprising the main or original body of the present *vagga* are of the nature of ballads. Puṇṇaka-māṇava Pucchā, Upasiva-, Nanda-, Bhadrāvudha- and Pingiyamāṇava Pucchās are very old, and probably no less so are most of the verses comprising Mettagū-, Dhotaka-, Todeyya-, and Jatukāṇṇimāṇava Pucchās. In the remaining *pucchās* one detects a greater number of later elements.

* * *

The Sutta Nipāta is unique among the canonical writings in that commentaries on its vital portions have themselves been accepted, from the earliest time of Hinayāna Buddhism, as canonical works. These are the Niddesas, of which there are two: Mahā Niddesa, the major exegesis, a commentary on the Aṭṭhaka; and Culla Niddesa, the minor exegesis, on the Pārāyana and the Khaggavisāna Sutta.¹

Both the Aṭṭhaka and the Pārāyana are referred to as separate

¹ The Niddesas now form one of the fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, but originally this Nikāya contained but twelve books, of which the Mahā Niddesa and the Culla Niddesa counted as two. They are the earliest of all the very copious commentarial literature of the Buddhists, and have themselves been commented upon in the Pāli *Saddhamma-pajjotikā*.

works in other parts of the canon. Mention is made of Aṭṭhaka at *Vin* I, 196, at *S* iii, 12, and *Ud* v, 6; while Pārāyana is cited by name at *S* ii, 49 and four times in Aṅguttara—i, 144, ii, 45, iii, 399, and iv, 63 (P.T.S. refs.). Here is proof that Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana are older than those parts of the Vinaya, Samyutta, Aṅguttara, and Udāna which name them and, of course, than the canonical Niddesas which comment on them. Asoka, Emperor of India (265–236 B.C.), in his famous stone edicts, quoted from Munisutta (*Sn* i, 12), from 'Moneyasuta' (= Nālakasutta: iii, 11), and from Sāriputtasutta (iv, 16)—all discourses to which we have pointed as being among the earliest contained in Suttanipāta.

In stressing the antiquity of Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana, both Oriental and Occidental scholars have remarked the intimate relationship that exists between these two collections of primitive Buddhist scripture and the Upanishadic literature of early Hinduism. In the preface of his P.T.S. translation of the Sutta Nipāta, E. M. Hare observes: 'I hold the opinion that a reader must have some knowledge of the Vedānta, the philosophy of the Upanishads, to appreciate properly the replies to the brāhmaṇs who come and question' (i.e. in the Pārāyana). 'It seems certain that the compiler knew their doctrine . . .'¹

One could, indeed, quote many a learned writer who has averred that Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana constitute a direct link with Upanishadic scripture, and that Buddhism is best appreciated in its natural background as emerging—together with Hinduism—from Brāhmaṇism: that to grasp fully the former it is advisable—if not essential—to possess some understanding of the latter. Here we will content ourselves, however, with simply noting that much that Buddhist authors label as 'Buddhism' is equally Hinduism and is shared, too, with other Indian philosophical systems.

It is clear, then, that the *suttas* and *pucchās* of Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana, together with the individual 'early' discourses, form the most important group of teachings in the Pāli Canon. In them one finds the seeds of that *Dhamma* which is systematized in the later books. In them one meets the noble Muni Ideal of the first disciples and contemporaries of Gotama. Hence the Sutta Nipāta is regarded as the premier scripture by many modern Buddhists, by purists and those men and women who prefer freedom to the conventional traditions that have originated

¹ Hare: *Woven Cadences of Early Buddhists*: SBB xv., p. ii. Oxford University Press, London 1945.

in the legends of late and post-canonical Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist literature.

THE BUDDHIST COUNCILS

In working out a chronology of the Pāli Canon, we find helpful landmarks in the early history of Buddhism in the traditional councils that were convened by the Indian Buddhists. Unfortunately for the serious student of *Buddha-dhamma*, these councils have been the objects of legendary speculation: the origin of many of these misunderstandings can be traced to the medieval Sinhalese chronicles (*Yārasas*), and this is a question which we shall touch upon later.

Buddhist records mention four important Indian conferences, two before the schism of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, and at least two after it. Briefly, they are:

(1) *The Rājagaha Council* held a few months after the Buddha's death in 483 B.C. Probably little more than a meeting of some of Gotama's chief followers, convened in order to decide how they were to get on without their leader and teacher.

(2) *The Vesālī Council*, of 383 B.C. A convocation of the leading monks of the monasteries of the 'Middle Country' (see Maps III and IV), to agree upon uniformity of rules of discipline and procedure in the *Sangha*.

(3) *The Pāṭaliputta Council*, of c. 250 B.C. When the elders of the Thera Vāda sect deliberated as to which of the then current *bhāṇaka* recitations were to be regarded as canonical and preserved. Their decisions laid the foundations of our Pāli Canon.¹

After this other councils were convened by the Buddhists in India—one in Kashmir in about 70 or 100 C.E., another (of less authenticity) at Prayaga in Central India in approximately 634 C.E.

For the purpose of putting dates to the Pāli books, the times and circumstances of the first three councils are of interest.

Returning now to the *Sutta Nipāta*, the Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana are representative of the Ascetic stage which flourished prior to the Rājagaha council; the *Sutta Nipāta* anthology would not have

¹ The first two councils are narrated in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*—at *CV*, xi and xii respectively. The sources reporting the third council are of Sinhalese origin, and are so late as the fourth or fifth century C.E. According to the Theravādin tradition, a 'Fourth Council' was held in Ceylon at the time when the Pāli Canon was committed to writing, in the first century B.C.

received its final redaction until after the conference in 250 B.C. at Pāṭaliputra (modern Patnā in Bihār). Some scholars favour the second century as the closing date of this particular collection of works.

THE MONASTIC, SECTARIAN STAGE

'Just as, O disciples, the great rivers such as the Ganges, the Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, and Māhi, when they fall into the ocean, lose their former names and are known as the ocean, even so do the four classes, *khattiyas* (warriors), *brāhmaṇas* (priests), *vessas* (farmers and merchants), and *suddas* (peasants), when they have gone forth in the *dhamma* and the discipline taught by the *Tathāgata*, from a home to a homeless life, lose their former names and clans and are known as ascetics' (*Ud* v, 5).

Buddhist monasteries originated in India as humble shacks of wattle daubed with mud in which hermits and wanderers sheltered during the annual rainy season. To the mendicant Gotama and his chief disciples, such shelters had been donated by householders who admired and venerated the vocation of holy men who begged their daily meal because they had renounced all possessions. The evolution of temporary abodes into permanent monastic residences was an early step in the history of Buddhism, and one which necessarily revolutionized the lives and the ideals of those who professed the *dhamma* of the Buddha. The seeds of this—the second stage in our scheme of Buddhist development—were certainly sown early (probably in the Buddha's own lifetime), and the growth in India of Buddhist monasticism was apparently one of comparative rapidity.

We have already mentioned that the *Saṅgha* which formed itself round the person and teaching of Gotama Buddha underwent (as everything must) stages of development. We have the primitive eremitic '*saṃana-muni-buddha*' pattern giving way to the coenobitic '*bhikkhu-arahant-Buddha*' scheme of society. Blind adherence to the tradition of *Buddhavacana* in the Pāli Canon obliges orthodox Theravādins in South Asia today to disregard the early days of primitive Buddhism, and to imagine that directly after Gotama's enlightenment there came into being a comprehensive Order of monks, with numerous monasteries and a complete set of sophisticated regulations such as the finished *Vinaya Piṭaka* provides. Such a state of affairs as this Western students will find absurd, for it is, indeed, a denial of *anicca*. The

Buddha *Saṅgha*, and with it its rules, evolved gradually, over a long number of years, as circumstances dictated. Up to the time of Gotama's demise, and for many decades after it, the recluse sage continued to exist beside the monastery dweller: while the monk would spend months of the year in solitary places, the hermit on the other hand would upon occasion repair to some monastic settlement, for medicine or for robe material, during times of famine, or for the rains.

It could have been only by gradual stages of development or evolution that the hermit's cave and tree gave way to the lean-to rain shelter, the *kuti* or simple wooden meditation hut, the *vihāra* or larger house, the abode blossoming out into a monastery wherein were *āvāsas*, the permanent dwellings of residential *bhikkhus*. In the canonical *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and *Thera Gāthā* this change is recognized in the following words:

'Seek out a distant hermitage apart,
And there remain alone and free of ties.
But, if in solitude is found not peace
Then with the Order dwell, guarded in heart,
Ever mindful, and ever self-possessed.'

But to this day it is the pristine hermit of the jungle or the mountain who remains the ideal of Buddhist Asia.

An index of the growth and development of the Buddha *Saṅgha* is to be found reflected in the formulae used for admission into it. At first, '*Ehi bhikkhu!*' ('Come, O mendicant'), uttered by Gotama to one seeking his company, was sufficient recognition by the Teacher that the newcomer might consider himself a follower. There was no ceremony, no kind of formality, no uniform mode of dress, only the unwritten laws fundamental to all holy men.

The followers of the Sākyan sage increased in number; a small band became a large group which swelled into a *saṅgha*. Applications for admission into the *Saṅgha* became so numerous that, it is said, Gotama found it difficult to attend to each himself. Seekers came from many parts of the country, and so the Buddha decreed that elders (*thera bhikkhus*) could accept and instruct new-comers upon their reciting the simple *saraṇagamana* formula:

'*Buddham saraṇam gacchāmi,*
Dhammam saraṇam gacchāmi.'
(I take the Buddha as my guide,
I take his Dhamma as my guide.)

For many decades after the death of Gotama numbers of his mendicant monks retained their eremitical habits, resorting to the monasteries only during the rainy season. For the remaining months of the year they wandered and tarried in little groups as hermits, a floating population, each man possessed simply of the eight requisites of the *bhikkhu*.¹

Later still, when the *Saṅgha* had become an organization with monastic settlements throughout the Middle Country, with more and more rules that characterized it and distinguished it from other religious movements, the formula of admission became threefold to make refuge in the Order official:

‘*Buddham saranam gacchāmi*
Dhammam saranam gacchāmi
Saṅgham saranam gacchāmi’

After Gotama's death, ordination into its ranks became a matter for the *Saṅgha* itself. The Buddha appointed no leader, and individual members of the Order were no longer permitted to accept new-comers. A quorum of ten monks,² acting on behalf of the *Saṅgha* as a whole, administered the threefold *sarana* formula directly followed by the *upasampadā* catechetical ordination in, apparently, much the form that it exists in the Theravādin countries today. This constituted the sole ceremony of ordination.

Still later a preliminary, ‘*pabbajā*’ (Skt.: *pravrajyā*, literally ‘going forth’) ordination was introduced. There were two reasons for this: members of other orders or sects who wished to join the Buddha *Saṅgha* were made to serve a probationary period (*parivāsa*) of four months, with a minimum age limit for this of twenty years. The *pabbajā* ordination was evidently intended originally for youths under twenty, and for those cases of older men whose *parivāsa* was not, for one reason or another, considered entirely satisfactory.

After this it became customary to give the *pabbajā* initiation to boys of fifteen or over who could satisfy a *thera bhikkhu* (called the applicant's ‘Preceptor’) that he was ready for it, and if he could answer certain questions. These questions were, in time, themselves incor-

¹ I.e. 3 (saffron dyed) robes, girdle, needle, razor, water-strainer, and food-bowl.

² In the lands bordering the ‘Middle Country’ (see Map IV), this quorum was reduced to five.

porated in the *pabbajjā* ceremony, which became a formulary,¹ and was made obligatory for all novices. *Pabbajjā* thus became a preliminary formality to the higher, *upasampadā* ordination for men of twenty or over whose conduct and understanding were considered to be sufficient to merit their admittance into the *Saṅgha*.

These steps in the procedure of admission, beginning with Gotama's simple 'Ehi bhikkhu!', represent a substantial period of development maturing in an environment of growing monasticism, and they denote an increasing tendency towards regimentation, during which more and more rules for the fully ordained *bhikkhu* were being introduced and included in the *Vinaya* code. For the novice (*sāmañera*) there were ten abstentions.²

THE VINAYA PIṭAKA

The *Pāṭimokkha* (Skt.: *prātimokṣya*, 'that which should be made binding') rules were the first to be formulated for the *Saṅgha*, and a number of them were possibly promulgated by Gotama himself. The first four, constituting the *pārājika* group, are of fundamental import. In these the Buddha laid it down that no *bhikkhu* should:

- (1) indulge in sexual intercourse,
- (2) take anything that is not given him,
- (3) deprive a human being of life,
- (4) boast of possessing super-normal powers.

To this group others were added until the total number of rules reached 145, all of which were obligatory upon *bhikkhus* after they had received the *upasampadā* ordination. These 145 rules comprised the

¹ In the course of the *pabbajjā* ceremony today, the refuge (*sarana*) formula is recited twice, first without the *niggahīta* (-m) endings, and then with them—e.g. 'Buddham saranam . . .' and 'Buddham saranam . . .' The explanation given for this is that Gotama himself spoke it without the nasal 'm'! Whatever may be the truth of this, it throws an interesting light on the trend of development of the *pabbajjā* procedure. Cf. *saranagamana*, pp. 84 and 85 *supra*.

Another curious formula incorporated in the *pabbajjā* ceremony is that relating to the candidate's physical body, when he repeats: 'The hairs of the head, and of the body, the nails, the teeth, the skin. The skin, the teeth, the nails, the hairs of the body, and of the head.' This is evidently a token of the 'thirty-two parts of the body' which served as the object of one of the original ascetic meditations: see Appendix A *infra*, 'Meditation on the Repulsiveness of the Body'.

² *Sikkhāpadas*, lit. 'steps of training'. They are listed *infra*.

'early *Pātimokkha*', round which the copious *Vinaya* was composed some time after the Buddha's death. The Vinaya Piṭaka forms one of the baskets or main sections of the Pāli Canon, and among the glosses and comments and illustrative stories contained in its *vibhaṅgas* (divisions), the early rules—or amendments thereof—lie buried.

The gradual accumulation of these extensive rules and regulations, which form altogether the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅgas and the Mahā and Culla Khandhakas of our *Vinaya*, naturally covered a long period of time—far longer than the forty-five years of Gotama's career as teacher and preceptor!

In the Vinaya Piṭaka the groups of rules are listed according to the penalties involved. These penalties are such as can be introduced only in monasteries, and are therefore clearly indicative of that stage in the development of early Buddhism which followed the pristine one of individual asceticism. After the four *pārājika* rules mentioned above (the breaking of which demanded expulsion from the Order), come the *sanghādisesas* (rules involving penance), and the *nissaggiya pācittiyas* (incurring expiation and forfeiture). Upon each of these rules comments and glosses are made in the Vinaya text, together with stories which were invented to explain their *raison d'être*. This commentarial material formed the *Abhivinaya*.

The Abhi-vinaya, however, was never separated from the *Pātimokkha* proper, but was maintained as canonical scripture under the name of Sutta Vibhaṅga and Khandhaka. Thereafter, as circumstances required, more and more rules were added: we know them as the *pācittiya* group. This set naturally lacks any system or order, and the penalty required is expiation—except for four minor regulations (the *pātidesaniya*) which call only for confession.¹

At the same time, of course, the rulings on precedent which we find in the *khandhakas*, the matters relating to the general running of monastic establishments, and the numerous allied problems that arise, were being worked out and laid down, the Mahā Vagga of which bears the stamp of being largely pre-Asokan in character (i.e. prior to the time of the Patnā council).

Last to be included in the Vinaya was a group of seventy-five rules

¹ The 145 rules of the 'early *Pātimokkha*' are reproduced *infra*, where, for convenience sake, are included the whole of the *pācittiya* group in spite of the fact that the 92 rules of this set show signs of having been incorporated over a period of several decades.

(the *sekhiya*): they were probably found necessary during the time of Moriyān indulgence when, owing to the patronage given the Buddha *Saṅgha* by the Emperor Asoka, quality was sacrificed to quantity. For the *sekhiya* group of rules deals with general behaviour and good manners; it is merely the list of prohibitions that one finds in any boarding school or barracks, and as such is indicative of days when the *Saṅgha* was becoming a refuge popular to all sorts and conditions of men.¹

Like the *pācittiya* group, the *sekhiya* rules must represent some decades of early monastic history, and it is not impossible that the order in which we find them in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* today was actually that in which they happened to be required and were added. To the student the most revealing ones are perhaps the *dukkhasita* set of the *sekhiya* rules, those relating to speech, for their presence in the *Vinaya* code is a sure indication of a decline in the quality of the members of the Buddha *Saṅgha*.

At what time the Bhikkhuṇī Vibhanga was introduced we cannot say; but the evident fact that it was modelled upon the Bhikkhu Vibhāṅga suggests that the monks' *vibhāṅga* was already well advanced when the nuns became organized.

The Kandhaka closes with an account of the Vesālī Council held a century after the Buddha's demise; but this does not mean that sections of the Culla Vagga may not have been added or composed some time after that event. Finally there was the Parivāra, an appendix to the *Vinaya* consisting of an index of all the rules. This book forms a sort of catechism for the monks, and it was perhaps compiled at the time that the Piṭakas were being committed to writing in Ceylon in the first century B.C. The late date of the composition of this book is suggested by the polished style of its Pāli, such as was typical of Sinhalese scholarship. The Parivāra is the only section of the Pāli Canon that is thought to have been actually composed *in toto* outside India.

It is not surprising to learn that the sects of Indian Buddhism

¹ The numbers of the rules given above are those handed down in the *Vinaya* of the Theravāda sect. When the sects formed, each had its own *vinaya* consisting of a different number of rules; but the early *Pāṭimokkha* served as the model for all.

Each of these rules, however, is officially attributed by Theravādin orthodoxy to Gotama Buddha himself.

originated, in the majority of instances, from differences of interpretation of the *Vinaya*.¹ Divisions arising from doctrinal issues were far less frequent. Some outstanding exponents of the *Dhamma* attracted personal followings; and a few sects took their name from their geographical locus.

THE FOUR ĀGAMAS

Although our survey of the monastic rules disposes of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, we cannot pass on to the third stage in our scheme of Buddhist development without first referring to the *Dīgha* and *Ānguttara Nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* which, together with the *Majjhima* and *Samyutta*, constitute the four *āgamas* (scriptures).

The *Dīgha Nikāya* consists of thirty-four *suttas*. Repeated in the first third of them are the *sīlas*, 'the code of mere morality' as it was called, and which consists of a quaint list of the virtues regulating the life of the ascetic as seen, and repeated by, the simple and conventional Indian villager. This, the *Silakhandha Vagga* of the *Dīgha*, is thus of very early origin.²

The style and contents of the *Ānguttara Nikāya* point to it being earlier than the last two-thirds of the *Dīgha*. It reveals something of the historical background of the contents of the *Vinaya Suttavibhaṅgas*, and it gives the first hint of a desire on the part of some members of the *Saṅgha* to accommodate unordained persons or householders within the ambit of *Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha*. For this reason we find in the *Ānguttara* not merely the word 'vinaya', but specified *bhikkhu-vinaya* and *gahapati-vinaya*—monks' and laics' discipline.

The Five Precepts for Buddhist laymen and women constitute a codification of *sammā ājīva*, right livelihood of the Eightfold Path which, it will be remembered,³ directs the follower of the Buddha to submit to the laws of the environment in which he lives—laws which, naturally, vary from time to time and in different places. The first four of the five precepts are those which other Indians (Jainas and many Hindus) observed; only the fifth (to abstain from intoxicants, so as not to lose control of oneself) is specific to Buddhism.

¹ Some sects differed only as to the number of pieces of material composing their robes.

² The *Sila Vagga* is reproduced *infra*. We have already quoted from it on p. 52 *supra*.

³ See p. 39 *supra*. The Five Precepts are listed *infra*.

With the *Dīgha Silakhanda*, the *Āṅguttara gahapativinaya*, and the Five Precepts we pass from the second into the third stage in the development of Indian Buddhism.

THE MORALISTIC, RELIGIOUS STAGE

The change from the amoral philosophy of the ascetic Gotama to the morality of a Buddhist religion, such as the monks presented to the people, was inevitable. In our mundane world there are too few persons capable of applying faithfully such a *saddhamma* as that given by Gotama (as he himself plainly foresaw after his Awakening). Our present study is of the earliest Buddhism, and the greater number of the texts which we record in the second half of this book are illustrative of the amoral, philosophical teaching (the remainder referring to the *Pātimokha* and to *Buddha-yoga*). Here we may observe that almost all the books written upon 'Buddhism' deal with it purely as a religion.

But several of the scriptural works of the Pāli Canon are collections in which philosophical proverbs are intermingled with precepts and moral lessons: they present us, in fact, with a mosaic of differing times and places. We have already seen as much in the *Sutta Nipāta*. The *Dhammapada* (another—very popular—book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*), and many of the *suttas* of the first four *nikāyas*, present further examples of this. Historically such collections as the Four *Āgamas* are the result of the groups of *bhāṇakas* (reciters) who roamed about India after the death of the Buddha and of his chief disciples, and the order in which we find their *suttas*, as also the order of the *Khuddaka* books, does not represent any sort of chronological sequence.

The *Brahmajāla Sutta*, the first in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, enumerates a number of the philosophical systems that existed, if not actually during the lifetime of Gotama, then soon after the Buddha's demise. The second *Dīgha sutta*, the *Sāmaññaphala*, which extols the fruits of the life of the recluse, is also extremely early. Little younger can be the remaining ten *suttas* which, together with the *Brahmajāla* and *Sāmaññaphala*, go to form the *Sila Vagga*. Thereafter, in the broadest chronological sequence, there come the *suttas* of (a) the *Majjhima Nikāya*, (b) the *Samyutta*, (c) the *Āṅguttara*, and (d) the remaining two-thirds of the *Dīgha*.

The 'connected' and 'numerical' expositions of *Dhamma* which are

presented in the Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas respectively, show less evidence of not having been compiled to some sort of plan than do the Middle-Length Discourses preserved in the Majjhima and the earliest parts of the Dīgha. The Aṅguttara—as we have seen—deals more with the moral conduct of monks and householders; in the Saṃyutta Nikāya doctrinal topics are discussed, and here the first steps are taken towards that analysis of the *Dhamma* which was to result in the orderly but pedantic treatises of the Abhidhamma.

In the Aṅguttara also we meet (in the *Duka Nipāta*) the earliest references in the canon to *vimāna*, the heavenly abodes. This is an ominous foretaste of the sensationalism that was to take possession of the last *nikāya*, the Khuddaka. We may therefore safely say that the Aṅguttara Nikāya is younger than the Majjhima and Saṃyutta works.

Returning to the later and more sophisticated *suttas* of the Dīgha, it is significant that parts of the Mahāparinibbāna or 16th *sutta* of this section repeat portions of the Aṅguttara. The continuous narrative that goes to form this, the Great Sutta of the Ultimate Cessation (which contains what are accepted as the last words spoken by Gotama), we discover to be somewhat inconsequently placed near the middle of the Dīgha Nikāya. The lengthy Mahāparinibbāna Sutta is, actually, a string of *suttas*, forming a small collection in itself, portions of which are believed to have been added, even, in Ceylon.¹

Finally, at the end of the Dīgha series, *sutta* no. 32 (the *Āṭanāṭiya*) is a deliberately composed *rakkhā* or spell for protection against evil—a return to a brāhmaṇī practice which clearly was deplored by Gotama, and a sure sign that the pristine days of the *Saddhamma* had faded! The next and penultimate *sutta* (the *Sangīti*) is composed in the sophisticated style of the Abhidhamma and is, therefore, to be dated correspondingly late (*vide infra*).

THE LEGENDS

The fifth and last section of the Sutta Pitaka is the Khuddaka Nikāya. It is significant that the Pāli records speak of this *nikāya* as consisting originally of only twelve books, whereas today they number fifteen.

¹ The fifth-century commentator Buddhaghosa, in his *Sumāragalavilāsini* (com. on the Dīgha), declares that the concluding verses of the *Mahāparinibbāna Su* (i.e. those beginning 'āṭṭhadoṇam cakkhumato sarīraṇ . . .') were added by the *mahātheras* of Laṅkā—the redactor monks of first century B.C. Ceylon.

The twelve original books were: Dhammapada (423 *dhamma* stanzas), Udāna (80 excellent utterances), Iti Vuttaka (112 short discourses beginning 'iti *vuccati*', 'thus has it been said . . .'), Thera Gāthā (verses of the elders), Therī Gāthā (nuns' verses), Sutta Nipāta, Mahā Niddesa, Culla Niddesa—all of which eight books contain fragments of early or pristine *dhamma*; plus four compilations of a somewhat later period—Khuddaka Pāṭha (a handbook of formulae which *sāmañeras* learn by heart), Vimāna Vatthu (re heavenly abodes of happy ghosts), Peta Vatthu (re miserable wanderings of unhappy ghosts), Jātaka (the fanciful, Mahāyāni 'birth stories', which purport to illustrate the cultivation of *pāramitās*, perfections, and other incidentals relating to previous lives of the Buddha).

At a still later date a further number of stories were added to the Jātaka collection, the two Niddesas were combined, and four more books, Mahāyāni in complexion, added—Apadāna, Patisambhidā Magga, Buddha Vamsa, and (the apparently unfinished) Cariyā-piṭaka.

These books may be conveniently divided into anthologies and legends (*vide* Chart B, p. 70), and most of them must have remained open to interpolation during many years, while probably none (except perhaps the Niddesas) appear to be of single authorship. Our Khuddaka Nikāya, then, is a very mixed bag, and it contains lots representative of all four of the stages of Buddhist development: of the pristine stage, Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana *et cetera* of Suttanipāta together with fragments of Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, and Therā-Therī Gāthā; of the monastic stage, the Khuddaka Pāṭha; of the religious (moralizing) stage the later sections of Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Iti Vuttaka, Therā-Therī Gāthā, the ghost stories of the Vimāna and Peta Vatthu, and the popular superstitions of the Jātaka and Apadāna fables, as well as the Patisambhidā Magga, Buddhavamsa, and Cariyā-piṭaka; while lastly the commentarial Pāli literature is foreshadowed by the Niddesas and by the more analytical and Abhidhamma-like portions of Patisambhidā Magga.¹

¹ Of the books of the Pāli Canon of the Thera Vāda sect, the following were not accepted as canonical by some other of the Hinayāni sects: Jātaka, Apadāna, Patisambhidā Magga, Buddha Vamsa, Cariyā-piṭaka, the Abhidhamma, and of course the Parivāra.

Also representative of this 'Popular Buddhism' (degenerate compared with the pristine) is the animistic ceremony of chanting *paritta* (*see* p. 78 *supra*).

COMMENTARIAL LITERATURE

The works of the third and last Piṭaka of the Pāli Canon, the Abhidhamma, grew up in the Khuddaka Nikāya contemporaneously with the books of legends, from which they were ultimately detached—perhaps after the Patnā Council¹—to form another ‘basket’. The Abhidhamma treatises present a psychological analysis of the *Dhamma*, which evidently occupied the serious attention of the Saṅgha during the period following that of the *Vinaya* compilations. The Abhidhamma, or ‘After Dhamma’, is representative of one of those not infrequent phases of pedantry that characterize Indian literature as a whole.

We have already pointed to the stories which were invented to illustrate the *Pātimokkha* rules, and which are included in the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī vibhaṅgas of the Vinaya Piṭaka, as being commentarial by nature. But it was the Mahā and Culla Niddesas of the Khuddaka Nikāya which were the first specifically commentarial compositions to be made (cf. p. 80 fn). After the canon was officially closed there followed a vast literature of commentaries and sub-commentaries and sub-sub-commentaries based upon its Pāli texts.²

OTHER EVIDENCE FOR CHRONOLOGY

In attempting to work out a chronological sequence of the contents of the Pāli Canon, other factors than the mere nature and doctrinal significance of the texts are to be considered. The language and its etymology sometimes offer important clues as to the age of its subject-matter. The *suttas* of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga of the Sutta Nipāta exhibit characteristics of some early, Upanishadic style in Indian sacred litera-

¹ The *Kathā Vatthu*, one of the seven books of Abhidhamma, is doubtfully ascribed to the Bhikkhu Moggalananputta Tissa, who acted as president at the Pāṭaliputta (Patnā) Council held two and a half centuries after the Buddha.

² For some particulars, see Appendix C *infra*. The first of these, the *Milinda-pañha*, is accepted by the Siamese as canonical. As for the Sinhala *vamsas*, the student has to be warned that the historicity of the detailed accounts that these chronicles offer regarding Gotama and primitive Buddhism is quite untenable. Their authors were never historians in the true, modern sense, and these compilations are a jumble of exaggerated facts and pious fables. It is regrettable that Sinhalese authors of serious books on Buddhadhamma should inconsequently quote from them as sober literature.

ture. In the later canonical Pāli, two further strata are apparent: the metrical portions of *Udāna*, *Iti Vuttaka*, *Thera-Therī Gāthā* and *Jātaka* contain *gāthā* or verses that are now considered to be older than the prose context in which very many of them stand. (In the *Milindapañha* the influence of Sanskrit is apparent, while in the still later artistic poetry of Ceylon—the *Mahā Vamsa*, *Dīpa Vamsa*, and lesser chronicles—Sanskritism has become frequent.¹)

The criterion that the more concise the Pāli text the older it is, can be applied more safely to the verse than to the prose, for many stanzas of obvious antiquity are eminently compact. Compound words of two or three components occur frequently in Pāli.

References in the canonical texts to historical events, the names of kings, and geographical allusions, are seldom reliable evidence because they are too liable to have been interpolated in order to add lustre and weight to the context. To give an example: one of the ghost stories contained in the *Peta Vatthu* (iv, 3) is about a Rāja Pingaloka who, according to the *Paramatthadīpanī* commentary, was the *rāja* of Surat (W.-S.W. of Avanti) 200 years after the Buddha. This should mean that the *Peta Vatthu* (together with its complementary work, the *Vimāna Vatthu*) were still being added to in Asoka's time, a period of which such books are, indeed, representative, on account of the growing popularity of 'Buddhism'.

The Emperor Asoka, in his edicts, quoted generally from the *Āgamas*, and the earlier *suttas* which were subsequently accommodated in the 'Sutta Nipāta' anthology (cf. p. 81 *supra*).

But with such exceptions as the *Sila Vagga* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the 'Upanishadic' passages preserved in *Suttanipāta*, the life and customs which we find portrayed in the bulk of the Pāli Canon are not so much those of the village of Gotama's own time, but rather are they representative of some two or more centuries later—of the Asokan and post-Asokan eras—when monasteries had become well established. What we can say, with some certainty, is that the Pāli Canon which we possess today contains what, at the time of the *Patnā Council*, was held to be the teaching of the Buddha.

It is not improbable that some of the original *dhamma* of the Buddha Gotama has, indeed, been lost, quite apart from the haunting possibility of misinterpretation. It is possible, for instance, that epidemics wiped out particular groups of *bhāṇakas*, or that some of these reciters

¹ Cf. Law: *A History of Pāli Literature*, pp. 258-9.

intentionally omitted and dropped parts of their repertoire.¹ Distortion and misrepresentation are inevitable in a world subject to relativity and *anicca*. The *Abhidharmakosa* (an early treatise of the Sarvāstivāda sect) contains the significant statement that many of the Sanskrit *sūtras* underwent slight changes, and that 'new ideas and expositions were woven around them in such a way that the accretions conveyed a sense different from that of the kernel around which they were set'.²

One has to bear in mind the large number of men who have, throughout the centuries, been responsible for the oral and written repetitions of the *Buddha-dhamma*.³

The texts which are offered in the following pages are ones which portray a pure philosophy of life together with the first rules of self-discipline. How much of Gotama's teaching was by way of being an actual protest against brāhmaṇic Hinduism is a debatable subject; more certain is it that the later followers of the Buddha, in converting his amoral philosophy into a moral system of religion for all and sundry, were to some considerable extent reverting to a popular form of Hinduism.

¹ When the author was in Banāras in 1950 he was informed that a *sannyāsin* arrived there who recited a Sanskrit *sūtra* which was, although apparently of some antiquity, unknown and hitherto unrecorded. This *bhāṣṇaka* was, moreover, an illiterate beggar who had received no instruction in the meaning of the words of his *sūtra*: he was, in fact, merely a walking gramophone.

² N. Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its relation to Hinayana*, p. 147. Luzac and Co. Ltd., London 1930.

³ Also to be reckoned with is the Indian—and Ceylonese—habit of telling the listener that which it is imagined the listener would be happy to hear, irrespective of the truth of the matter. Such hazards as these make one hesitate to be in the least dogmatic on the subject of *buddhavacana*.

TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PĀLI CANON

Individual items of *Dhamma* iterated in numerous parts of the canon as stock quotations, and some of the episodes that recur in identical words.

Aṭṭhaka Vagga, Pārāyana Vagga (except prologue and epilogue), and Khaggavisāṇa Sutta (of 'Sutta Nipāta'),

The Silas (of *Dīgha Nikāya*),

Muni, Salla and Nālaka Suttas (of *Sn*),

The early Pātimokkha rules (including some of the *pācittiyyas*),

Brahmajāla and Sāmaññaphala Suttas (of *D*),

Remainder of Silakhandha Vagga (of *D*),

Majjhima Nikāya,

Dhammapada,

The Sikkhāpadas,

Samyutta Nikāya,

Udāna and Iti Vuttaka,

Anguttara Nikāya,

Uraga, Dhaniya, Pabbajā, Padhāna, and Sela Suttas (of *Sn*),

Dīgha (*suttas* xiv to xxix),

Bhikkhu Vibhaṅga (amplifications of the Pātimokkha rules, glosses, etc.),

Later *pācittiya* rules,

Khandhaka Mahā Vagga,

Thera Gāthā,

Puggala Paññatti,

Dīgha (last four *suttas*),

Theri Gāthā,

First *sekhiya* rules,

Khandhaka Culla Vagga,

Mahā Niddesa,

The characteristic Abhidhamma begun (beginning of third century B.C.?),

Vimāna Vatthu,

(500 amplified) Jātakas,

Culla Niddesa,

(Pāṭaliputta Council)

Kathā Vatthu,

Uraga, Culla, and Mahā Vaggas: the 'Sutta Nipāta',

Later *sekhiya* rules (concluding the *Vinaya* code),

Peta Vatthu; Khuddaka Pāṭha; Paṭisambhidā Magga,

The Abhidhamma concluded (third-second century B.C.?),

(Fifty animal) Jātakas; Apadāna,

Buddha Vāṇsa; Cariyā-piṭaka,

Parivāra (first century B.C.).

STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM

B.C. (Asālha) YEARS	PERIOD	STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT
528—483	45 Contemporary	I. ASCETIC Stage. Philosophy of the <i>Munis</i> : individual pursuit of wisdom with equanimity.
483—383	100 Pristine ('aryan')	II. MONASTIC Stage. Metaphysics of the <i>Bhikkhus</i> : <i>Arahant</i> ideal of personal perfection.
383—262	121 Growth	III. SECTARIAN Stage. Psychology of the <i>Saṅghas</i> : the <i>Abhi-dharmas</i> —the 'last word' on <i>Dhamma</i> .
262—237	25 Asokan	
237—463 ¹	700 Elaboration	IV. POPULAR Stage. Religion of the people: <i>Bodhisattva</i> ideal —faith, worship, ritual . . .
463—1863	1400 Exaggeration	(non-'aryan') traditionalism.
1863—1963	100 Renascence	V. ?
	2491 years since the setting in motion of the Wheel.	

¹ 463 C.E. = a date approximately midway between those of the Commentarial literature of Buddhaghosa and Co., and the legendary *Vansas* and beginning of the Tantric Buddhist literature.

TABLE OF DATES

(The following dates are those accepted in this book. Several of them must be regarded as approximate.)

Sixth century

B.C.

563		Siddhāttha Gotama born.
551		Confucius b.
543		Accession of Bimbisāra to kingdom of Magadha; makes Rājagaha his capital.
540		Pasenadi, king in Kosala; capital: Sāvatthī.
539		Vardhamāna Nātaputta (Mahāvīra) b.
534		Cyrus, king in Persia (Irān), takes Babylon; subsequently conquers Baktria and parts of North-West India including Gandhāra.
532		Siddhāttha Gotama renounces family life.
528	(Zero year)	Pythagoras.
518	(10)	The great Awakening to <i>Nibbāna</i> : GOTAMA BUDDHA SETS GOING THE WHEEL OF THE LAW—and so begins the present era, from the Full Moon of Āsāḍha (July).
c. 500	(28)	Inscriptions of Darius I of Persia mentioning 'India' (i.e. the country of the Indus) and Gandhāra among his provinces following naval expedition of Admiral Scylax.
		Magadha invades Aṅga.

Fifth century

B.C.

491	(37)	Ajātasatthu, King of Aṅga-Magadha.
484	(44)	Gosāla Sankaliputta (leader of the Ājivikas) dies.
483	(45)	GOTAMA DIES INTO PARI-NIBBĀNA.
482	(46)	Rājagaha Conference.
480-	(-49)	Xerxes' expedition against Greece; Indian soldiers in his army.
c. 470	(58)	Socrates b.
468	(60)	Mahāvīra, leader of the Jainas, d.

Fifth century—(continued)

459	(69)	Udayabhadda, King of Aṅga-Magadha; removes capital to Pāṭaliputta.
443	(85)	Anuruddha and Munda kings of Aṅga-Magadha.
435	(93)	Nāgadāsaka, King of Aṅga-Magadha.
411	(117)	Susunāga made King of Aṅga-Magadha; capital: Rājagaha.

Fourth century

B.C.

393	(135)	Kālāsoka, King of Aṅga-Magadha; capital: Pāṭaliputta.
383-2	(146)	Vesālī Conference: the Great Schism, and formation of the first Buddhist sects.
365-	(163-	
343	185)	Ten sons of Kālāsoka, kings of Aṅga-Magadha.
343-	(185-	
321	207)	The <i>Nava</i> Nandas, kings of Aṅga-Magadha.
333	(195)	Alexander defeats Darius III at Issus.
330	(198)	Chuang Tzū b.
327-	(201-	
325	203)	Alexander's Indian expedition.
323	(205)	Alexander d.
321	(207)	Usurpation by Chandagutta and founding of Moriyan dynasty.
313-12	(216)	Jaina Canon fixed.
305	(223)	Treaty between Chandagutta and Seleucus Nikator.
		Megasthenes ambassador at Pāṭaliputta.

Third century

B.C.

297	(231)	Accession of Emperor Bindusāra.
269	(259)	Asoka, Viceroy of Avantī, murders his brothers and accedes to the imperial throne.
265	(263)	Coronation of Emperor Asoka at Pāṭaliputta; Daīmachus the Syrian ambassador, and Dionysius ambassador of Ptolemy II of Egypt.

Third century—(continued)

262 (266) Nigrodha teaches Buddha-dhamma to Asoka, who makes it into the state religion.
Many monasteries constructed.

247 (or 253?) (281) Pātaliputta Council (Theravādin): Pāli Canon compiled.
Devānampiya Tissa, King of Laṅkā (Ceylon).

246 (282) Mahinda's mission to Laṅkā establishing Buddha-dhamma there.

236 (292) Asoka d. Moriyan empire disintegrates.
Tao Tē Ching compiled.

Second century

B.C.

Rise of Mahāyāna doctrines.

c. 184 (344) Finish of Moriyan dynasty with murder of Brihadratha.

c. 150 (378) Nāgasena and King Milinda of Baktria. (*Milinda-pañha*)

101 (427) Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, King of Laṅkā: beginning of critical history of Ceylon.

First century

B.C.

Figure of Buddha introduced into sculptural tableaux.

29 (499) Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, King of Laṅkā (restored).

(c. 500) Pāli Canon committed to writing in Ceylon.

17 (511) Vaṭṭagāmaṇī d.

First century

C.E.

Kushāṇas invade North-West India.

61 (590) Buddhism introduced into China (from India).

78 (606) Accession of Kanishka to kingdom of Baktria.
First single images of Buddha made; shrines constructed.

Second century

C.E.

c. 100 (628) Purusapura Council (Sarvāstivādin).

Third century

C.E.

220 (748) Buddhism spreads to Annam.
 (750 or 800) Hindu undermining of Buddhism, which begins to decline in India.

Fourth century

C.E.

(c. 900) Buddhism introduced into Burma and Korea (from China).
Dīpavaṇṇa composed (by the Sinhalese).

Fifth century

C.E.

410— (938—
 432 960) Buddhaghosa, commentator ('*Visuddhi Magga*', etc.).
 422? (c. 950) Buddhism introduced into Thailand (from Cambodia) and spreads to Indonesia.

Sixth century

C.E.

550 (1078) '*Mahāvaṇṇa*' composed (by the Sinhalese).
 Buddhism introduced into Japan (from Korea).

Seventh century

C.E.

606— (1134—
 647 1175) Rise of Tantric schools in India.
 642 (1170) Harshavardhana, King of Northern India.
 Buddhism introduced into Tibet (from Bengal).

Eighth century

C.E.

711—12 (1240) Sindh falls to Arabs.
 750 (1278) Inception of the Buddhist Pāla dynasty of Bengal.

Ninth century

C.E.

(c. 1350) Kashmir falls to Shivaism
Central Asia falls to Islām.

Eleventh century

C.E.

1000 (1528) Turkish raids into West India.
c. 1066 (c. 1600) Moslem occupation of North-Western India.

Twelfth century

C.E.

1150 (1678) End of Pāla dynasty.
(c. 1700) THE END OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA.

PART TWO

THE TEACHING: DHAMMA AND DISCIPLINE

NOTE

In the translations of the texts that follow, repetition and legendary embellishments have, so far as possible, been omitted.

Suspected textual interpolations are given in *italics*.

THE TEACHING: DHAMMA AND DISCIPLINE

THE BUDDHA'S FIRST DISCOURSE

Setting in motion the Wheel of the Law

(Samyutta Nikāya V, Sacca-samyutta, 12)

'These two extremes are not to be practised by one who has abandoned the worldly life. What two? On the one hand indulging in sensuous pleasures, which is low, coarse, vulgar, ignoble, and useless; and on the other hand indulging in self-torture, which is painful, ignoble, and useless. Avoiding these two extremes the *Tathāgata* teaches the Middle Way that brings insight and knowledge, and leads to calm and wisdom, awakening, *Nirvāṇa*.

'What is the Middle Way that brings insight . . . *Nirvāṇa*? It is the aryan Eightfold Path, namely: right views, right mindedness, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration. This is the Middle Way . . .

'Now this is the aryan Truth as to sorrow: birth is sorrowful, old age is sorrowful, disease and death are sorrowful, grief, lamentation, depression, despair are sorrowful; association with the uncongenial is sorrowful, separation from loved ones is sorrowful; not getting what one wishes is sorrowful. In fact, every part of us is subject to sorrow.

'Now this is the aryan Truth as to the cause of sorrow: it is craving, which leads to rebirth, and is associated with desire-attachment, seeking pleasure everywhere, the craving for happiness in this life or in a future life.

'Now this is the aryan Truth as to the ending of sorrow: it is the putting an end to craving, giving up that desire-attachment, abandoning that pleasure-seeking and craving for happiness.

'Now this is the aryan Truth as to the Path that leads to the ending of sorrow: it is the aryan Eightfold Path, namely: right views, right mindedness, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration.'

'Perceiving, bhikkhus, "This is the aryan Truth as to sorrow", and that this doctrine was new, there arose in me insight, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, light. Perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to sorrow that is to be comprehended"; perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to sorrow that has been comprehended", and that this doctrine was new, there arose in me insight, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, light.

'Perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to the cause of sorrow", and that this doctrine was new, there arose in me insight . . . light. Perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to the cause of sorrow that is to be abandoned"; perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to the cause of sorrow that has been abandoned", and that this doctrine was new, there arose in me insight . . . light.

'Perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to the ending of sorrow", and that this doctrine was new, there arose in me insight . . . light. Perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to the ending of sorrow that is to be realized", and that this doctrine was new, there arose in me insight . . . light.

'Perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to the Path that leads to the ending of sorrow", and that this doctrine was new, there arose in me insight . . . light. Perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to the Path that leads to the ending of sorrow that is to be practised"; perceiving "This is the aryan Truth as to the Path that leads to the ending of sorrow that has been practised", and that this doctrine was new, there arose in me insight, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, light.

'So long, bhikkhus, as my threefold knowledge and insight of these four aryan Truths thus in these twelve aspects was not fully perceived by me, I did not declare to the world that I was Awakened.

'But when my threefold knowledge and insight of these four aryan Truths . . . was fully perceived by me, then I declared to the world that I was Awakened.

'The knowledge and insight arose in me: "Established is the liberation of my mind; this is my last life: there will be no more rebirth."'

THE SECOND DISCOURSE

On Anattā

(Samyutta Nikāya III, Khandha-samyutta, 59)

'The body, *bhikkhus*,¹ is selfless. Were the body self, the body would not be subject to disease, and it would be possible in the case of the body to command: "Let my body be thus, let not my body be thus." But because the body is selfless, therefore the body is subject to disease, and it is not possible to command: "Let my body be thus, let not my body be thus."

'Sensation is selfless . . . perception is selfless . . . mental tendencies and conditions are selfless . . . consciousness is selfless. For were consciousness self, consciousness would not be subject to disease, and it would be possible in the case of consciousness to command: "Let my consciousness be thus, let not my consciousness be thus."

'But because consciousness is selfless, *bhikkhus*, therefore consciousness is subject to disease, and it is not possible to command: "Let my consciousness be thus, let not my consciousness be thus."

'What think you, *bhikkhus*: is the body static or subject to growth, decay, and death?

—'Subject to growth, decay, and death, Lord.'

'But is that which is subject to growth, decay, and death painful or pleasant?'

—'Painful, Lord.'

'Is it fit to consider what is subject to growth, decay, and death, what is painful and impermanent, as "Mine", "I", "Myself"?''

—'Certainly not, Lord.'

'What think you: is sensation . . . is perception . . . are mental tendencies and conditions . . . is consciousness static or subject to growth, decay, and death? (and so on, as for the body) . . .'

—'Certainly not, Lord.'

'Therefore the body, past, future, or present, subjective or objective, earthly or ethereal, low or exalted, whether near or far, is to be perceived by him who clearly and rightly understands as: "This body is not mine, is not I; I am without self."

'Therefore sensation . . . perception . . . mental tendencies and

¹ Monks.

conditions . . . consciousness (and so on, as for the body) . . .
 "This consciousness is not mine, is not I; I am without self."

'Comprehending thus, the aryan disciple turns away from the body, from the sensations, from the perceptions, from the mental tendencies and conditions, from consciousness. Being thus detached, he is free from desire-attachment; being free from desire-attachment is he liberated, and he experiences the freedom of liberation. For he knows that for him there will be no rebirth, that the holy life has reached its culmination, accomplished is that which he set out to accomplish: he is free.'

SUTTA NIPĀTA

(*Early portions*)

Urāga Vagga

KHAGGAVISĀNA SUTTA (I, 3¹)

The Unicorn Discourse

Offering violence to no living thing, but faring harmlessly; not wishing for a son, still less for a friend—roam, like the uni-horn (of the rhinoceros), alone! (Textual verse number 35)

Companionship leads to affection, but from affection comes grief: seeing this, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (36)

Distracted by others' troubles one neglects (to perfect) oneself; realizing this, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (37)

As tree with branches entangled is the man engrossed in wife and children. Be straight and free (as the bamboo shoot), and roam, like the unicorn, alone! (38)

Wild creatures wander at pleasure in search of their food: emulating this liberty, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (39)

In company there is no peace to be found indoors or out, nor on the road. Wishing for tranquillity, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (40)

Companionship brings some amusement and children love: but these affections are bonds to be broken, so roam, like the unicorn, alone! (41)

In whichsoever of the four quarters you go, remain on good terms with everyone, but under no obligation; taking what comes, braving all dangers, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (42)

Some who have taken up the homeless life grumble like householders. Not bothering with children, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (43)

* Textual reference.

Shedding the habits of the worldly man as the tree drops its leaves, severing all the ties of house and home, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (44)

If you do come across a true friend, a noble and wise companion, then, thoughtful and fearless, fare well with your dear comrade. (45)

Meeting with no fine friend, noble nor wise, then (as king in exile) roam, like the unicorn, alone! (46)

We should value the friendship of equals and betters; failing this and appreciating the best, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (47)

Observe how even the finest worked gold bracelets, when two are worn on the same arm, will strike and jangle against each other—and roam, like the unicorn, alone! (48)

In the company of another there are clashes and angry jars: bearing this in mind, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (49)

The pleasures of the senses, sweet, scintillating, seductive, upset the mind: knowing these pleasures for dangers, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (50)

Seeing sensual pleasures as plagues, misfortunes, painful arrows: seeing that they are to be obviated, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (51)

Enduring cold and heat, hunger and thirst, wind and sun, gadflies, mosquitoes and snakes—enduring all these, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (52)

Like the great elephant—so handsome as a lotus—who quits the herd to wander at pleasure in the jungle, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (53)

Whilst a member of society, release is not to be attained even temporarily. So heed the word of him of solar lineage: roam, like the unicorn, alone! (54)

Having left behind the theories of the various philosophical systems,¹ being master of oneself, perfected, enlightened, not needing a teacher, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (55)

Being without greed, deceit, craving, desire; freed of illusion and without a want in the world; roam, like the unicorn, alone! (56)

Shun worthless associates, with their empty talk and mundane ambitions, not cultivating the acquaintance of wantons, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (57)

Honour those learned in the doctrine (*dhamma*) of the Buddha, those true and intelligent ones who can resolve problems and banish doubts, and roam, like the unicorn, alone! (58)

Putting aside amusements, sports, and all worldly attractions; indifferent to outward appearances, scrupulous as to truth, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (59)

¹ The systems of philosophy which were being expounded in *Āryāvarta* at the time of the Buddha. Records of those of the systems that were not regarded as unorthodox have been preserved in the Upanishads.

Son, wife, father, mother, wealth, chattels, relations—all that is prized in worldly life—leave, once and for all, and roam, like the unicorn, alone! (60)

Indeed pleasure is a delusion, joy fleeting; brief rapture is followed by protracted suffering, a hook baited for the unwary: knowing this, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (61)

Freeing yourself of ties as a fish breaks through a net; and like the fire that does not return to heathland already burnt, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (62)

Not loafing about but proceeding with downcast eyes and senses guarded, ever mindful and self-possessed, never impassioned, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (63)

As tree drops its leaves shed the habits of the worldling, and putting on the saffron coloured robes,¹ roam, like the unicorn, alone! (64)

Not hankering after rich food, not having to support others, but going here and there with open mind, unprejudiced, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (65)

Having overcome the five chief hindrances to progress,² together with the lesser obstacles; being independent, beyond liking and disliking, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (66)

Being indifferent both to pleasure and pain, and to previously held notions of personal enjoyment and hardship, acquiring intuition and equanimity, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (67)

Set upon attaining the supreme goal, with firm resolve and a brave heart, determined and persevering, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (68)

Persisting faithfully with one's seclusive meditations, with *Dhamma* (doctrine of the Buddha) as consort, appreciating the hopelessness of continuity (of existence), roam, like the unicorn, alone! (69)

Determined to put an end to craving, practising awareness, *Dhamma*-minded, skilful and self-reliant, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (70)

As the lion is not scared by noises, as the breeze is not to be caught in a net, as the lotus blooms unsullied above the muddy water, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (71)

As the lion, the strong, the king of beasts, haunts many a distant lair, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (72)

Practising benevolence, equanimity, compassion and sympathy, seeking release, unobstructed by anything of the world, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (73)

¹ All Indian ascetics wore robes of some shade of yellow, which colour represented purity; the early Buddhists dyed theirs with saffron.

² The five *nivaraṇa*—*vide supra*, p. 46, fn.

Having abandoned attachment, ill-will, stupidity; having broken all ties and being ever prepared for death, roam, like the unicorn, alone! (74)

A show of friendship too often cloaks some private ends. True friends, they say, are seldom found these days, when man is vile with selfish aims.
—Roam, like the unicorn, alone! (75)

MUNI SUTTA (I, 12)

Discourse on the Aryan Sage

Intimacy breeds trouble, family life is sordid. Seeing this the sage avoids intimacy, abandons family life. (207)

He who has uprooted a growth does not let it take root again. Wandering alone he is recognized as a tranquil sage, one who knows peace. (208)

He who understands the causes of desire kills the seeds so that it cannot again arise. The tranquil sage transcends reasoning; he sees the way to liberation, and remains unattached to society. (209)

He who has tired of the various philosophical systems becomes indifferent to them. So is the tranquil sage, when he has reached the goal, indifferent to all desires and attachments. (210)

Tranquil sage is he who has succeeded, who knows, who understands, who is undisturbed by things, is relieved of possessions and of desires. He it is who is free. (211)

Tranquil sage is he whose strength is wisdom, whose strength is purity, who is composed and calm, whose joy is in meditation, who is free of ties and obstructions. (212)

Tranquil sage is he, who steadfast, walks alone, unmoved by blame and by praise (like the lion who is not scared by noises, the breeze that is not to be caught in a net, like the lotus that blooms unsullied above the muddy water). A leader he, not led. (213)

Tranquil sage is he who remains as firm as a bathing post,¹ imperturbable, with senses composed. (214)

Tranquil sage is he who, master of himself, moves on like the weaver's shuttle, being deflected neither this way nor that, scorning improper deeds. (215)

Tranquil sage is he who whether young, middle-aged or old, remains firm in self-restraint, unprovokable, provoking none. (216)

Tranquil sage is he who when given food remains indifferent to its quality and choice: he never complains. (217)

Tranquil sage is he who lives chastely, who in his youth is not ensnared by sensual charms, and holding aloof from pride and excess, remains free. (218)

¹ Against which Indians rub their body when washing.

Who, knowing this world for what it is sees beyond to the goal, having crossed over existence, who has freed himself, is independent, secure—tranquil sage he. (219)

Their ways are vastly different: the worldling's, with his wife and home, and the pure independent man's. The worldling is unrestrained, even so far as destroying others; the sage, ever restrained, destroys not. (220)

The worldling cannot be compared with the contemplative aryan sage any more than can the gaudy peacock's flight to the swiftness of the pure white swan. (221)

Mahā Vagga

SALLA SUTTA (III, 8)

Discourse on Grief's Dart

Unknown is the length of one's lifetime in this world. Life is brief and sorrowful. (574)

Birth must end in death following decay—it ever must be so. (575)

As ripe fruit hangs ready to fall, so lurks death. (576)

As every jar made by potter must some day be shattered, so must man's life. (577)

Young and grown-up, wise and foolish, all are subject to death: they have this in common. (578)

When death beckons, no father can hold back his son, no kith detain his kin. (579)

See! while they stand weeping their relatives are carried off one by one, like oxen to the slaughter. (580)

Such is the way of this world: decay and death. Because the wise know this they do not let themselves be cast down with grief. (581)

For whoever grieves does so in vain, not knowing the path of him for whom he grieves. (582)

If grieving could ease the mourner's (self-inflicted) pain, the wise would grieve. (583)

Giving way to grief brings no consolation; it accentuates the loss, and makes one ill. (584)

He who grieves will be pale and wan; he hurts himself, while helping not the dead. (585)

Giving way to grief only adds to the mourner's pain. Lamentation increases his distress. (586)

And see how others die: passing to that which they themselves deserve, yet trembling to the very brink of doom. (587)

Whatever one expects, things turn out otherwise. Disappointment is inevitable in this world. (588)

A man may live a hundred years, or more, but the day comes when he too must go. (589)

Therefore be consoled by the superman (*Arahant*)¹: Weep not! reconcile yourself to the fact that the dead (one) is dead and cannot be brought back. (590)

As water extinguishes the flames of a house afire, so let the wise man cast away (as wind blows cotton-down) his grief. (591)

For his own sake let the mourner draw out the dart of vain grief that he himself has planted in his heart. (592)

The dart withdrawn, he will find his heart at rest. Overcoming grief he will be free from grief, at ease. (593)

NĀLAKA SUTTA (III, 11)

Gotama's discourse to Nālaka on the Way of the Aryan Sage

(*Vatthu gāthā* omitted)

Nālaka: 'That which Asita foretold has turned out true. Therefore, Gotama, I have come to question you. (699)

I've left the family for the homeless life. Tell me, Noble Sage, the way of the tranquil sage and how he fares. (700)

Gotama: 'Know that the way of the tranquil sage is a hard way: hard to find and hard to follow'—so said Bhagavant.² 'The maxim is: "Stand firm! Be strong!" (701)

Cultivate equanimity. Unmoved alike by blame, by praise, remain serene: neither cast down by blame nor elated by praise. (702)

As sudden as tongues of fire fly up so the aryan sage, even in the most solitary place, meets temptation. See that you are not lured by women. (703)

Reject all sensual pleasures; remain dispassionate but kind to all that lives, both strong and weak. (704)

Identify yourself with others: "As they so I; as I so they". Hence kill not nor cause to kill. (705)

Abandoning desire and attachment, you go on where other men flounder. Let your intuition guide you through this hellish life. (706)

Of empty stomach, let your diet be spare, your wants moderate, your needs few. So, living modestly, with no distracting desires, you will find content. (707)

Having satisfied his hunger, the tranquil sage retires to a solitary place, (such as) under a tree in a wood. (708)

Seek such a tranquil spot where those who love to quietly contemplate may do so to their utter heart's content. (709)

¹ I.e. Gotama Buddha.

² The Lord, i.e. Gotama Buddha.

And thus, if need be, muse the whole night through. Then break your fast without avidity. (710)

With no undue haste the tranquil sage takes what is given, asking not for this and that. (711)

"It was a good breakfast!" "There was no breakfast!"—all's the same to the even-minded one, who calmly returns to his abode. (712)

Like a dumb man he goes from one person to another, disdaining not the humblest gift, nor breathing a word of criticism. (713)

Although the *Samana*^x makes known various means of reaching the goal, the way across has not to be traversed twice, yet more than a single effort is required for its attainment. (714)

The man who has overcome desire-attachment, who has abandoned doing (both skilful and unskilful actions), is no longer burnt up (with passions). (715)

Know, further, regarding the way of the aryan sage'—so said *Bhagavant*: 'Be keen as the razor's edge! When you feel hunger pains, press your tongue against your palate. (716)

Keep your mind alert, though not dwelling upon worldly matters; be pure, independent, and devoted to the aryan life. (717)

Be content to live alone, aloof; for the independent way is the way to wisdom. (718)

And thus is a good reputation made. Following the example of the wise, the contemplators, my disciple will strengthen his endeavour. (719)

Learn this of the waters: Loud splatters the streamlet, the ocean's depths are silent. (720)

Emptiness is loud, fullness calm: the prattling fool is like a half-filled pot, the wise man like a placid lake. (721)

When the *Samana* does hold forth, it is of the goal and the way: he teaches *dhamma*, speaking with knowledge and understanding. (722)

Having both knowledge and self-restraint, knowing much and saying little, such is the sage with true wisdom, such is the aryan sage.' (723)

Attthaka Vagga

KĀMA SUTTA (IV, 1)

Discourse on Desire

Happy indeed is he who obtains his heart's desires. (766)

But when one cannot satisfy one's desires one feels pained, as if wounded by an arrow. (767)

^x I.e. Gotama Buddha.

He who keeps on his guard against sensual pleasures as he would against treading on a snake, he, ever watchful, steers clear of the danger of desire. (768)

He who is always hankering after possessions—such as fields, estates, gold, cattle, horses, servants, women, relatives— (769)

He will be overcome with troubles, and weighed down like a battered ship into which the water is pouring. (770)

Therefore be ever watchful, avoiding sensual pleasures, throwing out desire; so bailing out your ship, cross the flood to the safety of the Further Shore (*Nibbāna*).¹ (771)

GUHATTHAKA SUTTA (IV, 2)

Discourse in eight stanzas called 'The Cavern'

The man who lives the slave to that cavern we call the body—made dark by delusion, gloomy with unsatisfied desire—is not a happy man. And the pleasures of this world are hard to relinquish. (772)

Who try to live again the pleasures of the past or build ambitious notions of future pleasures, are creatures of desire, slaves of joy, and such are difficult to help—for none can be liberated by another; one can be saved only by oneself. (773)

Those who blindly chase after pleasure become mean and selfish, until meeting with disaster, they wail: 'What is to become of us? what will be our fate in the next life?' (774)

Life is short, say the wise; so learn your lesson now: Knowing baseness as base, abjure baseness! (775)

Observe how the men of this world tremble, poor wretches!—they lust for life, cringe at death. (776)

Look how they struggle after their petty ambitions, like fish in a stream that is fast drying up! Seeing this, let one fare unselfish in this life, while ceasing to worry about the next life. (777)

Overcoming desires alike for the present and the future, having learnt to live without desiring, being incapable of anything base, the wise man remains indifferent to what he sees and hears. (778)

The tranquil sage, not handicapped by desire-attachment, fares on across the flood. He has pulled out the arrow of the passions, and remains indifferent to everything of this world and the next. (779)

¹ The flood of sorrows that is intrinsic to the continuous round of life, death, rebirth, etc. Beyond this flood stands the Further Shore, the goal, *Nirvāna*.

DUTTHATTHAKA SUTTA (IV, 3)

Discourse in eight stanzas on Corrupt Talk

Unkind people spread malicious tales, and well-intentioned people also censure; but in either case the tranquil sage remains unconcerned. Nowhere is there to be found a disconcerted sage. (780)

The irresponsible, unrestrained person goes on repeating what everyone else says, for such a person is the product of convention. (781)

The person who, unasked, sings praises of his virtues and achievements is an unaryan braggart. (782)

But the calm monk (*bhikkhu*), who abstains from self-praise, they call 'aryan', for he never talks about himself. (783)

It is hopeless to look to the prejudiced man, one with rigid ideas, the disputant, for guidance. (784)

It is certainly hard to change one's set opinions, but a man should let himself freely test all *dhammas* or philosophical systems, adopting and rejecting them as he sees fit. (785)

But the man who is wise no longer concerns himself with this or that system (of philosophy), he neither prides nor deceives himself. He goes along his independent way. (786)

The man who maintains this view can be identified with this view, the man who maintains that view can be identified with that view; but with what is he to be identified who adopts no view, rejects no view? (787)

SUDDHATTHAKA SUTTA (IV, 4)

Discourse in eight stanzas on Purity

'I see a pure, a perfect, man—his purity is surely the result of the (philosophic) view he holds!' Whoever reasons thus, thinks that this view must be the best view. Such a person imagines that knowledge is to be assessed by the qualities of those who share it. (788)

If a man can become pure simply by changing his views, if by mere knowledge he can be freed of sorrow, then something other than the Aryan Way makes pure and puts an end to sorrow. But this cannot be substantiated by those views themselves. (789)

No brähmañ^x believes that he can be purified by another, for the true brähmañ remains indifferent to what he sees and hears, indifferent to (conventional) virtue and achievement, indifferent to dogma, indifferent to what

^x Gotama frequently equated his disciples with the ideal brähmañ, i.e. with the paragon that a brähmañ was, by brähmin tradition, supposed to be.

is called 'good' and 'bad'; he remains free, alike of ambition and accomplishment. (790)

Men give up one thing to take up another, but in spite of numerous changes they do not find peace. They are no better than monkeys who let go one bough to take hold of another, only to let it go again. (791)

A man will let himself be led by his senses into becoming the slave of an organization. The wise man, who does not have to depend on his senses because he knows the *Dhamma*, can never become a slave. (792)

For when a man no longer depends upon what he sees and hears, but relies on his intuition, his own views do not change; he has no need to change. (793)

They do not lay down laws, nor make rules, nor set themselves up as models of the ideal, for they are wholly detached. They care for nothing in the world. (794)

The freed brähmaṇ has passed beyond passions: he is not affected by passion, he is beyond norm, beyond law. For him there is nothing he can call The Norm, nothing he can call The Law. (795)

PARAMATTHAKA SUTTA (IV, 5)

Discourse in eight stanzas called 'The Best'

The person who is prejudiced in favour of one particular philosophical system is prejudiced against other systems. Such a person disputes and does not overcome the habit of disputing. (796)

He seizes upon anything that seems 'good', that looks 'good', sounds 'good', on particular actions that appear to him to be 'good', upon anything he thinks is 'good'—and in so doing he labels other things 'bad'. (797)

Experts are agreed that that man who labels things 'bad' is thereby making it impossible for himself to see them as they really are. Therefore the *bhikkhu* (monk) should not colour what he sees and hears, nor pin his faith on virtue and achievement (*viñ*. on traditionalism). (798)

He should not found nor favour any organized system of philosophy either by word or deed. He should not consider himself 'better' or 'worse' than another, nor 'equal'. (799)

Being without prejudice and favour, uninfluenced by convention, he does not associate himself with any formal religion or sect; he is not bound by any set rules. (800)

For him there is no need to strive to become this or that, in this world or the next. And he has ceased to study the philosophies for he no longer requires the solace that philosophy offers. (801)

As regards things seen and heard he remains unswayed by prejudice: such a brähmaṇ is not to be misled. (802)

He accepts nothing, prefers nothing, takes to no particular philosophy. Not on account of his virtues and achievements does the brāhmaṇ (true) fare to the Further Shore, never more to return. (803)

JĀRĀ SUTTA (IV, 6)

Discourse on the Brevity of Life

Brief indeed is this life; if a man survives a hundred years he soon thereafter succumbs to old age. (804)

Ownership brings worries, wealth is soon lost, and fortune fades. So lead the homeless life! (805)

Death parts a man from all that he called 'his'. My disciple is wise in having no possessions. (806)

As faces that people a dream vanish when one awakens, so are dear ones dead no longer to be seen. (807)

Both seen and heard are friends whose names we know; but death leaves us only their names. (808)

By his selfish greed man makes his whole life wretched. Peaceful is the life of the tranquil sage, for he is unselfish and without greed. (809)

Of the bhikkhu who leads the lonely life of contemplation, they say that it is proper for him not to continue in existence (after death). (810)

The tranquil sage, being independent, makes neither friends nor enemies. Attachments and troubles do not cling to him any more than does rain to a leaf. (811)

As water clings not to the lotus so the tranquil sage clings not to the senses. (812)

Liberated, the wise are indifferent to the senses, and have no need to seek anything; passionless, they are beyond pleasure and displeasure. (813)

TISSAMETTEYYA SUTTA (IV, 7)

Gotama's discourse to Tissa Metteyya on Lechery

Tissa Metteyya: 'Tell what you have to teach of lechery, sir, that we may carry your words with us even to the fastness of the jungle.' (814)

Gotama: 'Low is the lecher, Metteyya,'—so said Bhagavant—'unaryan is he who lives heedless of my precept.' (815)

One who formerly fared alone but now gives himself over to lechery they call a common fellow and liken him to a lurching car. (816)

He loses the respect he previously merited. Seeing this, you must strive to avoid lechery. (817)

Hearing himself blamed he becomes depressed and as moody as a miser. (818)

Tormented by the words of others he further injures himself by resorting to falsehood. (819)

When first a *samana* (recluse) they thought him wise, but now he is a lecher they call him a fool. (820)

The aryan sage who realizes the danger of lechery should keep strictly to his lone life from beginning to end. (821)

So let him wander alone, for that is the aryan life. But let him never think of himself as the better man even though he be at the threshold of *Nibbāna*. (822)

The tranquil sage, having overcome sensual desires, remains free, and reaches the Further Shore. He is envied by those caught in carnal bonds. (823)

PASŪRA SUTTA (IV, 8)

Discourse to Pasūra on Disputation

‘Some maintain that this *dhamma* (doctrine) gives purity, some maintain that that *dhamma* gives purity; their own *dhamma* they call right, each extolling their own as best. (824)

Such persons go out of their way to start disputes, each calls the other “fool!” and trots out stock arguments. And, seeking praise, they pose as experts. (825)

They delight in scoring over their opponent, they dread being out-talked. If defeated in debate they grow morose, feel angry when floored—while all the time seeking to shame their rival. (826)

If opinion goes against the disputant he grieves and bears a grudge against his adversary. (827)

Among some, these disputes lead to quarrels and blows.—Therefore avoid disputation; praise won thereby is valueless. (828)

The winner of such disputes becomes proud and elated; and the praise goes to his head. (829)

Such pride is followed by a fall, for now he talks his head off and his arrogance makes him insufferable.—Seeing this, abstain from disputation; disputation never leads to purity. (830)

As the royal champion goes fearlessly issuing his challenge—so go you forth, my hero, though not to combat. (831)

When party men start wrangling, each convinced that his party is in the right, tell them bluntly that you are not interested. (832)

But they who fare on, never offering any theory of their own in opposition

to your theories—what can you say to them, Pasūra, for they do not maintain any views? (833)

Full of confidence in your own theories you came here; you sought to match a Perfect One, but failed to keep the pace!' (834)

MĀGANDIYA SUTTA (IV, 9)

Dialogue between Gotama and Māgandiya

Gotama: 'Tempting thoughts of craving and lust never succeeded in awaking in me the least desire for sexual intercourse. What is this beautiful daughter of yours but a bag of excrements? I would not touch her even with my foot!' (835)

Māgandiya: 'Since you scorn such a prize—one sought after by many a noble—tell me what can be your views, your precepts and system of life, and what attainments have you won?' (836)

Gotama: 'For such as I, Māgandiya, there are no views, no precepts, no system'—so said *Bhagavant*. 'For even the philosophical systems themselves produce sorrow: studying them brought me the knowledge of this; so understanding, I found "inward peace".' (837)

Māgandiya: 'You, Noble Sage, dismiss the formal systems', said *Māgandiya*, 'but how do the wise explain this "inward peace" of yours?' (838)

Gotama: 'It is not from views, from tradition, from mere knowledge, nor from virtue and achievement, that purity is attained, Māgandiya'—so said *Bhagavant*. 'Nor is it from being without views, without tradition, without mere knowledge, without virtue or achievement, that purity is attained.' (839)

Māgandiya: 'To say that purity is not attained either from views, tradition, knowledge, virtue and achievement, nor from not having these, sounds nonsense to me,' said *Māgandiya*. 'Some people attain purity from views!' (840)

Gotama: 'It is because of your views that you put these questions to me, Māgandiya. It's on account of the preconceived notions you hold that my words seem nonsense to you'—so said *Bhagavant*. (841)

'So long as you continue to regard others as your "equal", as your "superior" or "inferior", you will continue to be disputatious. But he who ceases to think like this finds nothing to dispute.' (842)

To the brāhmaṇ (true) the concepts "equal" and "unequal" are meaningless. Therefore by what criterion could he call this "true" and that "untrue"? and how could such a one dispute? (843)

He who has abandoned family life, the tranquil sage with no intimates, having no personal desires and ambitions, does not get himself involved in arguments. (844)

The strong man is not disconcerted by trifles; and (as the lotus on its stalk rides unsoled above the muddy water) the tranquil sage rides unsoled by the world and its sordid pleasures. (845)

The sensible man does not feel proud because of revelations he experiences nor because of thoughts that come to him; he is not impressed by what conventional people do and say, nor is he influenced by what other people think. (846)

He who is no longer led by sense-perception is no longer tied: understanding banishes illusion. But those individuals who are led astray by appearances and go around airing their views are a perpetual source of annoyance in this world.' (847)

PURĀBHEDA SUTTA (IV, 10)

Discourse called 'Before he Disintegrates'

Enquirer: 'Define the perfect man, Gotama; by virtue of what insight and what conduct is one called "tranquil"?' (848)

Gotama: "'Tis he who has conquered craving before he disintegrates'—so said Bhagavant. 'Such a one does not worry himself how the world began, nor regard the present as being fixed in time, nor set his heart upon rebirth in any particular sphere.' (849)

He is free from anger, from fear, from boasting, from remorse, and free from careless talk—tranquil sage indeed is he who can control his speech! (850)

He builds no hopes for the future, entertains no regrets for the past; sense-impressions do not distract him, nor does he hamper himself with any set of rules. (851)

Unattached, he is not deceitful, not ambitious nor envious; unassuming, he neither scorns nor slanders. (852)

He does not seek pleasure, he is not conceited; he is sympathetic, intelligent, detached; he is not credulous. (853)

Indifferent to gain or loss, craving nothing, never greedy for tasty morsels (he). (854)

Unperturbed and ever mindful, he never thinks of himself as being "better" or "worse" or "the same" as another—he finds no occasion to draw comparisons. (855)

He depends upon the *Dhamma* which shows him the folly of depending upon anything; he desires neither to be nor not to be. (856)

Such a man is "tranquil". He is not a pleasure seeker, he has no commitments; such a man is safely beyond desire. (857)

He possesses no sons, cattle, land, capital; he holds no theories on "self" and "not-self". (858)

He is not swayed by another's talk, be it that of *śramaṇa*, brāhmaṇ, or any man at all. (859)

Tranquil sage he, grudging nothing, grasping nothing, ignoring distinctions of "high", "low", "middle"; oblivious of time, beyond time. (860)

He who is free of possessions, unaffected by transiency, independent of orthodoxy—he can be called "tranquil". (861)

KALAHAVIVĀDA SUTTA (IV, 11)

Dialogue on Contentions

Question: 'Due to what are contentions and disputes, together with ensuing grief, tears, selfishness, conceit and arrogance, and slander?' (862)

Answer: 'Contentions and disputes, together with their inevitable grief, tears, selfishness, conceit, arrogance, and slander are due to personal affections. Selfishness itself gives rise to contentions and disputes, and they lead to slander.' (863)

Question: 'From what do affections arise? and ambitions? and the hopes and fears a man entertains regarding rebirth?' (864)

Answer: 'Affections arise from desire; from desire arises ambition too, and man's hopes and fears regarding rebirth.' (865)

Question: 'What causes desire? and why are theories coined? and whence come anger, falsehood, doubt, and all else mentioned by the *Śramaṇa* (Gotama)?' (866)

Answer: 'Desire is the result of holding prejudiced notions of "pleasant" and "unpleasant"; while theories are based on the misinterpretation of evolution and disintegration. (867)

Anger, falsehood, doubt, *et cetera*, will always exist where such prejudicial notions as "good" and "bad" prevail. Doubt can be banished by knowledge.—All this is to be found in the *Śramaṇa's* teaching!'¹ (868)

Question: 'What is the source of prejudicial ideas? and can they be eliminated? And what is this about "evolution and disintegration"?' (869)

Answer: '"Good", "bad"—such feelings are the result of mental associations, impressions. Without these mental associations there are no prejudiced notions of "pleasant" and "unpleasant"; and without these associations there is no evolution and disintegration either.' (870)

Question: 'On what do these mental impressions depend? And what is the cause of grasping? How can the passion for possessions be expelled? What puts an end to mental impressions?' (871)

Answer: 'Mental impressions depend upon name and form. The cause of grasping is craving—craving breeds thoughts of "my" possession; without form there would be no mental impressions.' (872)

¹ I.e. in Buddha-dhamma.

Question: 'But can a man be without (his) form? And how can pleasure and pain cease to be?—That's what I should like to know!' (873)

Answer: 'There is no perceiving of form when the perceptions are abnormal or have atrophied or have ceased. Delusion is the outcome of perception.' (874)

Question: 'You have replied to every question. Finally, answer this: Do the wise say that purity of heart is attainable in this life? or is still more required hereafter?' (875)

Answer: 'Some say that purity is attained in this life; others declare that death brings annihilation.' (876)

The tranquil sage knows both these views as bonds. Knowing, he himself is free of bonds; but he does not dispute such views because he is indifferent to theories.' (877)

CULLAVIYŪHA SUTTA (IV, 12)

Discourse on Minor Issues

Enquirer: 'Preachers, each expounding their pet theme, declare: "Hold fast to this and you are saved; reject it and you're damned!"' (878)

They dispute between themselves, calling each other "ignoramus" and even "fool". Who is to tell which one of them is right?—they cannot all be experts, as they claim!' (879)

Gotama: 'If to disagree qualifies a person as "fool", then all these theorizing "experts" are fools.' (880)

If each theory gives the truth and qualifies its holder as "expert", then all are experts.' (881)

You do not hear Truth from those who call another "fool". Each terms his own view "truth", and anyone not agreeing with his view he calls "fool".' (882)

Enquirer: 'What one of them terms "truth" another says is false, and so they go on. How is it that these people can not agree and all say the same?' (883)

Gotama: 'There is but one Truth, and so the wise find nothing to debate. But since each of these disputants has his own version of the truth, their arguments are never ending.' (884)

Enquirer: 'But how is it that each of these "experts" sees his version of truth as the Truth? Can it be said that their truth was ever Truth? or do they merely invent their theories?' (885)

Gotama: 'No truth exists at all apart from what sense-perception offers. So soon as you hold the view that this is "true" friction arises, because the opposite view must then be termed false.' (886)

He who allows himself to be led by things seen and heard, by virtue and achievement, becomes fixed in his ideas and criticizes others. (887)

In criticizing others his egotism swells, and seeing himself as an expert, his critical faculty becomes still more exaggerated. (888)

Then, overflowing with his own importance, he prides himself upon being "a sage", and imagines his views to be irrefragable. (889)

If anyone calls him dim-witted he retorts: "dim-wit yourself!"—though according to each, himself he is "a sage". (890)

Each "expert" will be heard to state that those who follow a philosophy different to his must fall short of purity and perfection. (891)

"My method leads to perfection: it's infallible!" boasts every one of these self-appointed "sages". (892)

Such remarks lay him open to attacks from other "experts", and to further dispute. (893)

And so these people, each of them attached to his pet theory, continue to wrangle all life long.—Therefore keep free of all theorizing and its attendant strife. (894)

MAHĀVIYŪHA SUTTA (IV, 13)

Discourse on Major Issues

Enquirer: 'These dogmatists who claim to teach the only truth—do they bring nothing but blame upon themselves, or do they sometimes merit praise as well?' (895)

Gotama: 'What little praise they win is trifling and does not bring them peace. The goal is not reached by dispute!' (896)

Wise men give no credence to passing theories; why should they tie themselves? they are past believing everything they see and hear. (897)

Some there are who maintain that the goal is reached by practising virtues and by the achievement of meritorious deeds; asserting: "This is the Path", they set themselves up as the only teacher. (898)

Such become obsessed by the importance of principle, and if they transgress one minor rule they worry and distress themselves like one who has lost the way or missed the train. (caravan). (899)

So do not cling to lists of "dos" and "don'ts" nor to any code that appor-
tions merit and disgrace, but remain independent. (900)

Some practise painful penances; others rely on what they see and hear, talking of winning purity in this life yet hoping still for a happy rebirth. (901)

Desire breeds more desire, fear more fear. But he who is without desire for life and the hereafter fears neither death nor rebirth.' (902)

Enquirer: 'The philosophy that some call the highest others call worthless. They all claim to be experts: which of them is right?' (903)

Gotama: 'It is simply his own philosophy which each calls highest, while all term other methods worthless, and so they dispute. (904)

If mere criticism makes philosophical views worthless, then all their philosophies are worthless, for they all criticize each other's views. (905)

Their practice of their philosophy is as extravagant as their talk of it; but all their views add up to the same thing. (906)

But the brāhmaṇ (true) does not copy others; having passed beyond disputation he calls no particular philosophy "best". (907)

Some piously affirm: "The truth is such-and-such. I know! I see!"; and hold that everything depends upon having the "right" religion. But if he really knew he would have no need of religion. (908)

A man sees name as name and form as form, but—say the wise—however much or little he may see, he will not see Purity. (909)

No disputatious philosopher can effect Purity by means of his personal doctrine; he follows a light of his own making, and hence he says he "sees". (910)

The (true) brāhmaṇ is beyond time, he does not depend on any view nor subscribe to any sect; all current theories he understands but he remains unattached to any of them. (911)

The tranquil sage, being free of worldly ties, though living in this world, remains sectless among sectarians, untroubled amongst trouble, omitting what the (mundane) world commits. (912)

Having expelled imperfections without acquiring new ones, having abandoned desire, being independent of dogma and no longer influenced by philosophical views, he pursues his own way, unimpressed by the world, never given to self-reproach. (913)

The tranquil sage, free of all views based on things seen and heard, being relieved of his burden, is no longer subject to time, is beyond abstention, beyond desire.'—*So said Bhagavant.* (914)

TUVAṬAKA SUTTA (IV, 14)

Discourse called 'The Quick Way'

Enquirer: 'Great Sage of solar lineage, speak of the tranquil state, of peace. How fares the peaceful *bhikkhu* who has freed himself of the ways of the world?' (915)

Gotama: 'He must pull out delusion by the root, by thinking no more in terms of "I" '—*so said Bhagavant*. 'He must be aware of all selfish cravings that arise. (916)

Should he master anything, whether it comes from within or without, he must resist putting all his confidence therein. (917)

And having mastered something, he must not on that account compare himself (favourably nor unfavourably) with others. (918)

Peace comes from within: let the *bhikkhu* not seek it without. Peaceful, he thinks no more of "self"—and therefore no more of "not self". (919)

As all is calm in the ocean's depths where no waves rise, so the *bhikkhu* is calm when no waves of desire rise to disturb him.' (920)

Enquirer: 'The Awakened One has proclaimed the *Dhamma* that purifies. Speak now on discipline and contemplation.' (921)

Gotama: 'Mind your own business. Heed not the talk on the topic of the day. Don't be greedy. Have nothing, want nothing!' (922)

In times of adversity let the *bhikkhu* not complain, nor yearn for change of circumstance; let him fear not! (923)

Let him abstain from hoarding food and drink or clothing; and let him not feel anxious when he does not get them. (924)

Let the *bhikkhu* be meditative rather than on the move; let him be well behaved, not lazy. Choosing quiet, let quiet go with him. (925)

Let him not sleep too much, but remain mindful; let him abstain from sloth, deceit, frivolity, sport, lechery, adornment. (926)

Let him not work the spells of the Atharva Veda, nor interpret dreams and omens, nor practise astrology; let not my dear disciple make predictions from the cries of birds, cure barrenness, nor practise medicine. (927)

Let the *bhikkhu* not be cast down by blame nor elated by praise; let him abandon greed and envy, anger and slander. (928)

Let the *bhikkhu* not engage in sale and purchase, nor find fault in others; when he has to go about, let him never abuse anyone; nor preach for payment. (929)

And when the *bhikkhu* preaches, let him not boast nor speak for personal motives nor from pride, nor use provocative words. (930)

Let him not be led into lying nor acting unlawfully; let him despise no man's livelihood, intelligence, virtue, nor achievements. (931)

Let him bear kindly when *samanas* chatter: let him not be irritable, for calm men do not answer back. (932)

Having understood the *Dhamma* let the *bhikkhu* apply it; finding peace thereby, let him follow Gotama's advice. (933)

Conqueror unconquered, self-awakened to the Dhamma visible! Follow the way of the Lord and do honour to it!—So said Bhagavant. (934)

ATTADANDA SUTTA (IV, 15)

Discourse called 'The Mailed Fist'

'The mailed fist brings fear to the world. What a lot of violence there is everywhere!—I'll describe the unhappiness I found: (935)

I saw men struggling like fish in a pool that is running dry, each obstructing the other—and I was weighed down by the horror of it. (936)

All the world lacked substance where disintegration was the rule, and I looked in vain for a permanent structure wherein to shelter. (937)

Mankind seemed doomed to struggle—then I perceived a barb piercing as it were the heart of man. (938)

Thus pierced, man pursues his crazy path of pain—but if the barb be extracted he is calmed and knows peace.' (939)

Here follows the discipline: 'Live free of worldly ties, pin down desire, strive for *Nibbāna*! (940)

The tranquil sage loves truth; he is retiring, never arrogant nor intolerant, and abstains from slander and greed. (941)

The man who sets his heart *Nibbāna*-wards must wake up and put an end to apathy and laziness; he must cast aside conceit. (942)

He must renounce falsehood and sensual things, and seeing only folly in pride, he abstains from every form of violence. (943)

Let him put no value on what is old, nor be fascinated by what is new, nor grieve for what is lost, nor pine for the unattainable. (944)

Craving is like a flood, greed its debris, and lust is a bog. (945)

The tranquil sage stands firm on truth; having left all things, he, true brāhmaṇ, comes to peace. (946)

He is wise who knows the *Dhamma*; henceforward he pursues his independent way envying none. (947)

He who has conquered lust—a great achievement this!—is beyond desire, beyond the pain of longing. (948)

Transcend your shady past, admit no new imperfection; and so proceed in peace. (949)

He who never thinks of anything as "mine" does not feel the lack of anything; he is never worried by a sense of loss. (950)

He who never thinks: "This is mine", "that is his", does not see himself at a disadvantage. (951)

Being neither jealous nor greedy, but without desires, and remaining the same under all circumstances—this, in my estimation, is nobility. (952)

When thought is purified of desire, action lacks result (both "favourable" and "unfavourable"): this makes the calm one inviolable. (953)

The tranquil sage does not contrast himself with others; serene and wanting nothing, he is incomparable; he has nothing to gain, nothing to lose.'—*So said Bhagavant.* (954)

SĀRIPUTTA SUTTA (IV, 16)

Gotama's discourse to Sāriputta

Sāriputta: 'I have never seen nor heard of such a sweet-speaking teacher'—so said the venerable Sāriputta—'come surely from Tusita heaven,'¹ (955)

This seer, to teach both gods and men; dispelling the mists of ignorance he wanders in this world, awake. (956)

To this buddha I bring a question that may help the masses of the world who are in bondage: (957)

If a monk who has renounced the world retires to a lonely spot—under a tree, to a cemetery, or in a mountain cave— (958)

Where many dangers lurk which the monk must bravely bear; (959)

What other perils must this lone monk meet and wrestle with in order to attain the goal? (960)

What words should he employ? what practice should he follow? and what procedure should he adopt, this determined monk? (961)

To what discipline should he submit himself, in order to wipe away his impurities as the silversmith removes the dross? (962)

Gotama: 'I will tell you, Sāriputta,' said Bhagavant, 'for I know what pleasures the Dhamma-loving recluse finds in solitude. (963)

Let not the bhikkhu, as he fares near the goal, be disconcerted by any of these five, to wit: gad-flies, mosquitoes, snakes, thugs, and wild animals. (964)

As he sees through the subtle arguments of men and thence resists them, so does he learn to see through all approaching dangers. (965)

In spite of illness and hunger he must endure the cold and heat; the homeless wanderer must exert will-power and energy. (966)

He must not steal nor lie; he must be friendly to both the weak and the strong; and drive all dark forebodings from his mind. (967)

Let him resist anger and pride, putting an end to all personal likes and dislikes. (968)

With wisdom to guide him and delighting in harmony, he should overcome the discomforts of his hermit life, in particular: (969)

"Shall I get anything to eat?" "Where shall I find food?" "I passed a sorry night last night!" "Where can I sleep tonight?"—The young disciple who has abandoned home life must also abandon such disturbing thoughts as these. (970)

When food and clothing are forthcoming, let him take just sufficient for his needs, and modestly continue on his way. However irritated he may feel, let him never speak harshly. (971)

¹ One of the heavenly abodes, which gained in importance in later Buddhist cosmology.

Not loitering but proceeding in an orderly fashion, he is ever mindful and self-possessed. Having attained equanimity, he will resolve all the doubts and troubles in his mind. (972)

Let him welcome words of sound advice, and in his turn encourage others on the path; let him speak to the point, while never being swayed by gossip. (973)

Finally he will be strong enough to resist the five great snares: desire for things seen, desire for things heard, desire for tastes, desire for scents, and desire arising out of touch. (974)

So in time the *bhikkhu* will be free of desire for all these things, he will be pure; reflecting upon *Dhamma* he will be liberated.'—*So said Bhagavant.* (975)

Pārāyanā Vagga

(*Vatthu gāthā* omitted)

AJITAMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 1)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Ajita

Ajita: 'By what is the world enveloped? why does it not shine forth brightly? what, would you say, spoils it? what is its greatest detraction?'—*asked the venerable Ajita.* (1032)

Gotama: 'The world is enveloped in ignorance; it does not shine on account of greed; desire spoils it; and its greatest detraction is sorrow'—*said Bhagavant to Ajita.* (1033)

Ajita: 'Perilous influences are current everywhere: how can they be checked? by what, would you say, can these influences be restrained? and can they be eliminated?'—*asked the venerable Ajita.* (1034)

Gotama: 'All perilous influences that are current can be checked by mindfulness; by mindfulness these influences can be restrained; and with wisdom they can be eliminated'—*said Bhagavant to Ajita.* (1035)

Ajita: 'This mindfulness and wisdom, and "name-form", explain to me, sir, how do they cease?'—*asked the venerable Ajita.* (1036)

Gotama: 'This question you have put, Ajita, I shall answer thus: Name-cum-form cease utterly when conscious mind ceases.' (1037)

Ajita: 'They who have tried the various philosophies, and they who are still searching for some sort of spirituality, the general run of men; tell me, sir, what is best for them?' (1038)

Gotama: 'They should cease to crave for pleasure, but remain calm of mind; they should be skilfully blameless in all things, (like) mindful *bhikkhus* wandering forth.' (1039)

TISSAMETTEYYAMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 2)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Tissa Metteyya

Tissa Metteyya: 'Who lives content in the world? who is without upsets? who has the sense to cut through the clean middle path between the two extremes? who do you call a great man? who has overcome desire?'—*asked the venerable Tissa Metteyya.* (1040)

Gotama: 'The man who abstains from sensual pleasures, the ever mindful, peaceful *bhikkhu*, he is without upsets'—*said Bhagavant to Tissa Metteyya.* (1041)

'He it is who has the sense to cut through the clean middle path between the two extremes, him I call great; he has overcome desire.' (1042)

PUNNAKAMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 3)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Puṇṇaka

Puṇṇaka: 'To you who are without desire, who know the cause of things, I put this question: Why do the holy men of the world, men who were born nobles or brāhmaṇs, offer sacrifices to gods?'—*asked the venerable Puṇṇaka*. 'I beg you, Lord, to answer this question.' (1043)

Gotama: 'Because holy men, men who were born nobles or brāhmaṇs, when they get old, *Puṇṇaka*, imagine that by offering sacrifices to gods they will alleviate their present condition'—*said Bhagavant to Puṇṇaka.* (1044)

Puṇṇaka: 'But, Lord, these sacrificers, precise though they are as to rite, do they, sir, thereby escape continuity (rebirth and decay)?'—*asked the venerable Puṇṇaka*. 'I beg you, Lord, to answer this question.' (1045)

Gotama: 'Men yearn, and pray, worship, and sacrifice: but all for sensual gain. These sacrificers too, they still cling to sensuality. Therefore they do not escape continuity'—*said Bhagavant to Puṇṇaka.* (1046)

Puṇṇaka: 'If these men, in spite of their sacrifices, fail to escape continuity, then who, sir, in all the world of gods and men, do succeed in escaping?'—*asked the venerable Puṇṇaka*. 'I beg you, Lord, to answer this question.' (1047)

Gotama: 'The man who is beyond comparison, he who knows no upsets in this world, who is calm, passionless, without a want or a hope, he escapes continuity.'—*So said Bhagavant to Puṇṇaka.* (1048)

METTAGŪMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 4)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Mettagū

Mettagū: 'I ask you, Lord, to tell me this. I know that you are wise: Whence arise all the many sorrows to which our life is subject?'—*asked the venerable Mettagū.* (1049)

Gotama: 'You may well seek the origin of life's sorrow! Knowing, I shall tell you: Attachment, which leads to rebirth, is the cause of sorrow'—said Bhagavant to Mettagū. (1050)

'The fool who forms attachments brings sorrow upon himself. Understanding this, be wise and do not add to your sorrows by forming attachments.'

Mettagū: 'You have explained that question; now kindly answer another: How do the wise cross this sorry flood of birth, decay, old age, and pain? Explain this thoroughly to me, for it is well understood by you, Noble Sage.' (1052)

Gotama: 'I shall explain it to you thus: A here and now dhamma this; no mere legend. Simply by grasping it, faring mindfully one reaches the Further Shore!'—said Bhagavant to Mettagū. (1053)

Mettagū: 'I am delighted, Great Sage, with this incomparable dhamma, simply by grasping which, faring mindfully one reaches the Further Shore!' (1054)

Gotama: 'Dispense with delight in all things sensual and place no store on such; in this way the conscious mind will cease to be agitated by existence'—said Bhagavant to Mettagū. (1055)

'It is in this condition that the mindful *bhikkhu*, faring impersonally, is free of birth, decay, old age, and pain.'

Mettagū: 'I am delighted with these words of the great sage Gotama. Assuredly this lord has transcended sorrow by this his incomparable dhamma!' (1057)

And they who follow your teaching, Noble Sage, will certainly transcend sorrow likewise. Therefore I, venerating you Great One, pray that you may teach me, Lord.'

Gotama: 'Brāhmaṇ worthy of the name is he, free of the things of life; he has crossed the flood, reached the Further Shore, being awake and beyond the range of doubt.' (1058)

He knows and understands, is free of the things of the after-life; passionless, without a want or a hope, he, I tell you, escapes continuity.'

DHOTAKAMĀNAVĀ PUCCHĀ (V, 5)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Dhotaka

Dhotaka: 'I beg of you, Lord, to tell me—I long to listen to your words, Great Sage—(how) one who has heard you attains Nibbāṇa'—asked the venerable Dhotaka. (1061)

Gotama: 'Make a grand effort! And, by remaining alert and mindful, bearing in mind my words, attain Nibbāṇa!'—said Bhagavant to Dhotaka. (1062)

Dhotaka: 'In all the world of gods and men I have found in you the true brähmaṇ, one who is really free. Therefore I venerate you, Omniscient One. Free me, Säkyan, from doubts!' (1063)

Gotama: 'I cannot liberate anyone in the world, Dhotaka, who has doubts. But simply by grasping this best of *dhammas* you will cross the flood.' (1064)

Dhotaka: 'Oh Brähmaṇ (true), have pity and teach me! Show me the way of this unique *dhamma* that it may pervade me like the air, so that I may have peace.' (1065)

Gotama: 'I shall explain it to you thus: *A here and now peace this; no mere legend. Simply by grasping it, faring mindfully, one reaches the Further Shore!*'—said *Bhagavant* to *Dhotaka*. (1066)

Dhotaka: 'I am delighted, Great Sage, with this incomparable peace, simply by grasping which, faring mindfully, one reaches the Further Shore!' (1067)

Gotama: 'Dispense with delight in all things sensual and place no store on such, seeing it as a worldly tie. And you must banish all desire for a heavenly rebirth.'—So said *Bhagavant* to *Dhotaka*. (1068)

UPASIVAMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 6)

Questions of the young Brähmaṇ Upasīva

Upasīva: 'By myself, Säkyan, unsupported, I could never venture to cross the mighty flood. Tell me, Omniscient One, some means by the aid of which I may fare across'—asked the venerable *Upasīva*. (1069)

Gotama: 'Mindful that there is no tie nor possession that can hold you back; aided by the knowledge that Nothing Is, you will cross the flood. You must abandon all sensual pleasure and all doubts; and day and night, with all craving stilled, steadfastly maintain the peace of sorrowlessness'—said *Bhagavant* to *Upasīva*. (1070)

Upasīva: 'Will he who has abandoned all sensual pleasure and all doubts, whose single possession is the knowledge Nothing Is, who is no longer misled by perception—will he remain in that state?'—asked the venerable *Upasīva*. (1071)

Gotama: 'He who has abandoned all sensual pleasure and all doubts, whose single possession is the knowledge Nothing Is, who is no longer misled by perception—he will remain in that state'—said *Bhagavant* to *Upasīva*. (1072)

Upasīva: 'An he lives in that sorrowless state over a period of years, Omniscient One, is he conscious of the existence of his sorrowlessness?' (1073)

Gotama: 'Just as a flame that has become extinguished by the wind can

no longer be identified, so the tranquil sage, who is released from mind and body, can no longer be identified.' (1074)

Upasīva: 'He who can no longer be identified—will he be no more, or will he, wholesome, be for ever existing? Explain this thoroughly to me, for it is well understood by you, Noble Sage.' (1075)

Gotama: 'No measure measures him who has reached the goal: by what measure is the immeasurable measured? No words describe the indescribable.' —*So said Bhagavant to Upasīva*. (1076)

NANDAMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 7)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Nanda

Nanda: 'They say that there are tranquil sages in this world. What is meant by this? Is one tranquil sage by virtue of one's knowledge? or by virtue of the life one leads?'—*asked the venerable Nanda*. (1077)

Gotama: 'The tranquil sage is not so called on account of his philosophical views, nor on account of his knowledge of traditional lore, nor of any such conventional learnedness, Nanda. Tranquil sage is he, I tell you, who has mastered desire and fares on without a want or a hope.' (1078)

Nanda: 'Recluses and brāhmaṇs hold that purity comes by things seen and heard, by virtue and achievement, and suchlike conventional means. Do they, sir, thereby escape continuity (rebirth and decay)?'—*asked the venerable Nanda*. 'I beg you, Lord, to answer this question.' (1079)

Gotama: 'Recluses and brāhmaṇs who hold that purity comes by things seen and heard, by virtue and achievement and such like conventional means, do not escape continuity'—*said Bhagavant to Nanda*. (1080)

Nanda: 'Since, as you say, Noble Sage, they do not escape continuity who hold that purity comes by things seen and heard, by virtue and achievement and suchlike conventional means, who then, sir, in all the world of gods and men, do succeed in escaping rebirth and decay?'—*asked the venerable Nanda*. 'I beg you, Lord, to answer this question.' (1081)

Gotama: 'I do not say that all recluses and brāhmaṇs are doomed to rebirth and decay. I tell you that beyond continuity are they who—not relying upon things seen and heard, on virtue and achievement and suchlike conventional means—are free of craving, passionless. They, I declare, are the beings who cross the flood'—*said Bhagavant to Nanda*. (1082)

Nanda: 'I am delighted with these words of the great sage Gotama, that beyond continuity are they who . . . are free of craving, passionless. They—I too declare—cross the flood.' (1083)

HEMAKAMĀNAVĀ PUCCHĀ (V, 8)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Hemaka

Hemaka: 'All the doctrines that I knew before I heard Gotama's teaching were the traditional doctrines, based on convention and mere hearsay. They gave me no satisfaction and only added to my doubts'—said the venerable *Hemaka*. (1084)

'Teach me the *dhamma* that frees one from craving, Noble Sage, the way of mindfulness that obviates the world's desires.' (1085)

Gotama: 'The senses breed desire-attachment: abandoning desire-attachment in this world takes one *Nibbāna*-wards. (1086)

Realizing this, *Hemaka*, you reach *Nibbāna* here and now—being forever mindful, you obviate all the desires in the world.' (1087)

TODEYYAMĀNAVĀ PUCCHĀ (V, 9)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Todeyya

Todeyya: 'One who has abandoned desire-attachment and is passed all doubting—has he reached the goal?'—asked the venerable *Todeyya*. (1088)

Gotama: 'One who has abandoned desire-attachment and is passed all doubting has reached the goal'—said *Bhagavant* to *Todeyya*. (1089)

Todeyya: 'Has such a one no requirements? does he wish for nothing more? is his wisdom complete, or is he still adding to his wisdom? *Sākyan*, tell me this, so that I can recognize a "tranquil sage", O Omniscient One.' (1090)

Gotama: 'Such a one has no requirements, he wishes for nothing, his wisdom is complete, it is enough. Moreover, *Todeyya*, you can recognize a tranquil sage as one who is independent, one who is detached from pleasure, detached from life.' (1091)

KAPPAMĀNAVĀ PUCCHĀ (V, 10)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Kappa

Kappa: 'For those caught in the stream, struggling in the whirlpools of life, faced with atrophy and death, is there no island haven, sir? Tell me of such an isle, where all perils disappear'—asked the venerable *Kappa*. (1092)

Gotama: 'For those caught in the stream, struggling in the whirlpools of life, faced with atrophy and death, there is an island haven, *Kappa*. I shall tell you of such an isle, where all perils disappear'—said *Bhagavant* to *Kappa*. (1093)

'We call that isle "Nibbāna". In that island haven there is no atrophy, no death: there nothing becomes, and death and life are stilled. (1094)

Realizing this you reach *Nibbāna* here and now—being forever mindful you obviate *Māra* and all that *Māra* stands for.'* (1095)

JATUKANĀNĀMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 11)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Jatukāṇī

Jatukāṇī: 'News of a Victor, who conquering lust has won through to the Further Shore, has brought me here to this lord. Tell me, Awakened One, where to find peace'—asked the venerable *Jatukāṇī*. (1096)

'You, Lord, who understand everything as clearly as the sun lights the earth, explain your *dhamma* to me, who understand so little, that I may learn how to fare beyond rebirth and atrophy here on earth.' (1097)

Gotama: 'Eliminate greed and find content in doing so, until having no greed you will have none to expel'—said *Bhagavant* to *Jatukāṇī*. (1098)

'Transcend your shady past: admit no new imperfection; and so proceed in peace. (1099)

To him who possesses no greed for "name-form", brāhmaṇ, no passions cling that make him subject to death.' (1100)

BHADRĀVUDHAMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 12)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Bhadrāvudha

Bhadrāvudha: 'Great One, who left family life, who abandoned desire-attachment, and crossed the flood, liberated, beyond time!'—said the venerable *Bhadrāvudha*. 'Crowds hang upon your words. (1101)

People of different places come together to hear you speak, O Victor. That *dhamma*, which is so clear to you, expound in full to all.' (1102)

Gotama: 'Subdue desire-attachment for any thing anywhere; for whatever you grasp you are grasping *Māra*'—said *Bhagavant* to *Bhadrāvudha*. (1103)

'Realizing this the mindful *bhikkhu* grasps nothing in the world; for he sees a generation of mankind caught by *Māra*, slaves to desire.' (1104)

* *Māra*: the Buddhist equivalent to the Vedic demon Namuci, king of the *kāma*-world, the sphere of sensuality; the personified controller of the senses of the unmindful individual, and hence the personification of sensuality itself. Like Satan, *Māra* was regarded as 'The Tempter'.

UDAYAMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 13)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Udaya

Udaya: 'To one who sits in contemplation, to one who has done what had to be done, to one passionless, perfect, I come with this question: How is ignorance to be replaced with the insight that is essential for liberation?'—*asked the venerable Udaya.* (1105)

Gotama: 'Insight comes with the abandoning of desire and lust, when one ceases to worry and be distracted, and when one ceases to be careless and to act unskilfully'—*said Bhagavant to Udaya.* (1106)

'It comes, I tell you, on practising awareness; it comes of tranquillity, with pondering *dhamma*. Thus ignorance comes to be replaced with insight.' (1107)

Udaya: 'What binds us? by what do we limit our world? and what have to be cooled before *Nibbāna* comes?' (1108)

Gotama: 'Pleasure binds us; we limit our world by thought; and passions have to be cooled before *Nibbāna* comes.' (1109)

Udaya: 'When does the consciousness of the mindful man cease?—We should like to hear what you, Lord, have to say about this.' (1110)

Gotama: 'When the mindful man ceases to experience pleasure from his mental and physical sensations then his consciousness ceases.' (1111)

POSĀLAMĀNAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 14)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Posāla

Posāla: 'To one who knows the past, one who has abandoned desires and doubts, who is perfect, I bring a question'—*said the venerable Posāla.* (1112)

'Sākyan, what state of mental development is his who perceives nothing in the formless, nothing in form—nothing within nor without?* how far has he fared?' (1113)

Gotama: 'The *Tathāgata* knows all the states of consciousness including that of the man who appreciates nothingness, and he can tell how far such a one has fared'—*said Bhagavant to Posāla.* (1114)

'The brāhmaṇ who perceives nothing in the formless, nothing in form—nothing within nor without—is one who perceives the pain in pleasure: and that is no mean state!' (1115)

* I.e. by means of subjective and objective sense stimuliæ, the mind being the sixth sense.

MOGHARĀJAMĀÑAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 15)

Questions of the young Brāhmaṇ Mogharāja

Mogharāja: 'Twice have I questioned you, Sākyan, but the All-seeing One has not replied. If the godly sage be asked a third time, he will reply?—*asked the venerable Mogharāja*—'for that is what they say.'¹ (1116)

I do not know what your views are, Gotama, concerning this world and the world beyond, the *Brahma*-world² and other heavenly abodes; however— (1117)

I would put this question to the famous seer: How must this world be regarded so that death passes you by?' (1118)

Gotama: 'Regard this world as void; being forever mindful, realizing that no (permanent) self is (existing): thus transcending death, Mogharāja, you will pass death by.' (1119)

PINGIYAMĀÑAVA PUCCHĀ (V, 16)

Questions of the Brāhmaṇ Pingiya

Pingiya: 'I'm old in years, worn out and frail, with eyes dim and hard of hearing. I do not want to die a fool: teach me your *dhamma* now, that I may put an end here to rebirth and atrophy'—*asked the venerable Pingiya*. (1120)

Gotama: 'Seeing others tormented by the senses' forms, you, Pingiya, must be careful not to be victimized by your senses: thus will you leave form and escape rebirth'—*said Bhagavant to Pingiya*. (1121)

Pingiya: 'In all the ten quarters—east, west, north, south, between them, above, and below—there exists nothing uncomprehended by you! Teach me your *dhamma* now, that I may put an end here to rebirth and atrophy.' (1122)

Gotama: 'Observing that man is the slave to desire, remain careful yourself, Pingiya. Only be careful to avoid all desire and you will escape rebirth, Pingiya.'—*So said Bhagavant*. (1123)

¹ Cf.: 'They' say that prayers and curses become effective only with the third repetition.

² The *Brahma*-world has been equated with the Semitic and Christian heaven.

CONCLUDING GĀTHĀ

(from the Epilogue)

The Buddha—his wisdom makes light the darkness of ignorance, wholly awakened, obviator of continuity, eliminator of desire-attachment and (hence) of sorrow—him I follow, Brāhmaṇ; he is Truth. (1133)

As birds quit the plain for the leafy berried grove, so have I done with all other teachers; or like the noble swan who rides upon the great lake's calm . . . (1134)

* * *

With my mind's eye I clearly see him, the (true) Brāhmaṇ, night and day; I lighten the night with his praises, and at no time does he seem to be away from me. (1142)

Gotama's words never fail to give me confidence, to give me joy, to stimulate my mind; and wheresoever they lead me there I go. (1143)

Old is my body, heavy and frail: it moves not with my fleeter thoughts. But strong is my purpose, strong my heart—and oh, my heart is his indeed! (1144)

Time there was, when fast in the flood, I grasped first at this isle, then at that—till suddenly I beheld the very Buddha, he who, free of desire, found the way to the Further Shore . . . (1145)

THE BUDDHA'S CODE OF MERE MORALITY

(Dīgha Nikāya I—the Silas)

The Short Section

Putting away the killing of living things, the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from the destruction of life. He has laid aside the cudgel and the sword, and ashamed of roughness, and full of mercy, he dwells compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life.—*This is reckoned in him as morality.*

Putting away the taking of what has not been given, the ascetic Gotama lives aloof from grasping what is not his own. He takes only what is given, and expecting that gifts will come, he passes his life in honesty and purity of heart.

Putting away unchastity, the ascetic Gotama is celibate. He holds aloof, far off, from the vulgar practice,¹ from the sexual act.

Putting away lying words, the ascetic Gotama holds himself aloof from falsehood. He speaks truth, from the truth he never swerves; faithful and trustworthy, he breaks not his word to the world.

Putting away slander, the ascetic Gotama holds himself aloof from

¹ *Gāma-dhamma*: literally, 'village habit'; of the 'common herd', and not meet for an aryan recluse.

calumny. What he hears here he repeats not elsewhere to raise a quarrel against the people here; what he hears elsewhere he repeats not here to raise a quarrel against the people there. Thus does he live as a binder-together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peacemaker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace.

Putting away rudeness of speech, the ascetic Gotama holds himself aloof from harsh language. Whatsoever word is blameless, pleasing to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasant to the people, beloved of the people—such are the words he speaks.

Putting away frivolous talk, the ascetic Gotama holds himself aloof from vain conversation. In season he speaks, in accordance with the facts, words full of meaning, on *dhamma*, on the discipline of the Order. He speaks, and at the right time, words worthy to be laid up in one's heart, fitly illustrated, clearly divided, to the point.

The ascetic Gotama holds himself aloof from causing injury to seeds or plants.

He takes but one meal a day, not eating at night, refraining from food after noon.

He refrains from being a spectator at shows, at fairs with nautch dances, singing, and music.

He abstains from wearing, adorning, or ornamenting himself with garlands, scents, and unguents.

He abstains from the use of large and lofty beds.

He abstains from accepting silver or gold.

He abstains from accepting uncooked grain.

He abstains from accepting raw meat.

He abstains from accepting women or girls.

He abstains from accepting slaves male or female.

He abstains from accepting sheep or goats.

He abstains from accepting fowls or swine.

He abstains from accepting elephants, cattle, horses or mares.

He abstains from accepting cultivated fields or wasteland.

He abstains from acting as a go-between or messenger.

He abstains from buying and selling.

He abstains from cheating with scales or weights or measures.

He abstains from crooked ways, of bribery, cheating and fraud.

He abstains from maiming, murder, putting in bonds, highway robbery, dacoity, and violence.—*This is reckoned in him as morality.*

The Middle Section

Whereas some recluses and brāhmaṇas, while living on food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the injury of seedlings and growing plants whether propagated from roots or cuttings or joints or buds or seeds—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such injury to seedlings and growing plants.

Whereas some continue addicted to the use of things stored: stores, that is, of foods, drinks, clothing, miscellaneous articles, bedding, perfumes, and unprepared foodstuffs—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such use of things stored.

Whereas some continue addicted to visiting shows: that is to say—Ballet or nautch dancing. Singing of songs. Instrumental music. Fairs. Recitations. Drumming with the hand. The chanting of bards. Tom-tom playing. Tableaux. Acrobatics. Combats of elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats, rams, cocks, and quails. Bouts at quarter-staff, boxing, wrestling. Military tournaments, manœuvres, reviews—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from visiting such shows.

Whereas some continue addicted to games and recreations: that is—Games on boards with eight or ten rows of squares. The same games played by imagining such boards in the air. Hopping among diagrams drawn on the ground. Spillikins. Dicing. Tipcat. Dipping the hand with the fingers stretched out in lac, red dye, or flour water, and striking the wet hand on the ground or on a wall, calling out: 'What's it to be?' and making the form required (elephants, horses, etc.). Games with balls. Blowing through toy pipes made of leaves. Ploughing with toy ploughs. Turning somersaults. Playing with toy windmills or toy measures made of palm leaves. Playing with toy carts or toy bows. Guessing at letters traced in the air, or on a playmate's back. Guessing the playmate's thoughts. Mimicry of deformities—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such games and recreations.

Whereas some continue addicted to the use of high and large couches: that is—Movable settees, high, and six feet long. Divans with animal figures carved on the supports. Goats' hair coverlets with very long fleece. Patchwork counterpanes of many colours. White blankets. Woollen coverlets embroidered with flowers. Quilts stuffed with cotton wool. Coverlets embroidered with figures of lions, tigers, etc. Rugs with fur on one or both sides. Coverlets embroidered with gems. Silk coverlets. Carpets large enough for sixteen dancers. Elephant,

horse, and chariot rugs. Rugs of antelope skins sewn together. Rugs of skins of the plantain antelope. Carpets with awnings above them. Sofas with red pillows for the head and feet—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from the use of such high and large couches.

Whereas some continue addicted to the use of means for adorning and beautifying themselves: such as—Rubbing in scented powders on one's body, shampooing it, and bathing it. Patting the limbs with flat pieces of wood after the manner of wrestlers. The use of mirrors, eye-ointments, garlands, rouge, cosmetics, bracelets, necklaces, walking-sticks, reed cases for drugs, rapiers, sunshades, embroidered slippers, turbans, diadems, whisks of the yak's tail, and long-fringed white robes—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such means of adorning and beautifying the person.

Whereas some continue addicted to such idle conversation as—Tales of kings, of robbers, of ministers of state; tales of war, of terrors, of battles; talk about food and drink, clothing, beds, garlands, perfumes; talk about relationships, equipages, villages, towns, cities, and countries; tales about women, and about heroes; gossip at street corners, or places whence water is fetched; ghost stories; aimless chatter; speculation about the evolution of the land or sea, or about existence or non-existence—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such idle conversation.

Whereas some continue addicted to the use of wrangling phrases: such as—'You don't understand this doctrine and discipline, but I do!' 'How should you know about this doctrine and discipline.' 'You have deviated; it's I who am in the right.' 'I'm speaking to the point, you're not!' 'You are putting last what ought to come first, and first what ought to come last.' 'What you've been holding forth on for so long is all to no purpose.' 'Your challenge is accepted!' 'You are proved wrong.' 'You want to get your views sorted out!' 'Talk yourself out of that, if you can!—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such wrangling phrases.

Whereas some continue addicted to taking messages, going on errands, and acting as go-betweens; as for kings, ministers of state, warriors, brāhmaṇs, or young men, saying: 'Go there, come hither, take this with you, bring that from thence'—the ascetic Gotama abstains from such servile duties.

Whereas some recluses and brāhmaṇs, while living on food provided by the faithful, are tricksters, droners out (of holy words for

pay), diviners, and exorcists, ever hungering to add gain to gain—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such deception and patter.

The Long Section

Whereas some recluses and brāhmans, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn a living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as—Palmistry: prophesying long life, prosperity, *etc.* (or the reverse), from marks on a child's hands, feet, *etc.* Divining by means of omens and signs. Auguries drawn from thunderbolts and other celestial portents. Prognostication by interpreting dreams. Fortune-telling from marks on the body. Auguries from the marks on cloth gnawed by mice. Sacrificing to Agni.¹ Offering oblations from a spoon. Making offerings to gods of husks, of the red powder between the grain and the husk, of husked grain ready for boiling, of ghee, and of oil. Sacrificing by spitting mustard seeds, *etc.*, into the fire out of one's mouth. Drawing blood from one's right knee as a sacrifice to the gods. Looking at the knuckles *etc.*, and, after muttering a charm, divining whether a man is well born or lucky or not. Determining whether the site, for a proposed house or park, is lucky or not. Advising on customary law. Laying demons in a cemetery. Laying ghosts. Knowledge of the charms to be used when lodging in an earthen house.² Snake charming. Curing poisons.³ Curing bites by scorpions or mice. Interpreting the cries of birds. Interpreting the caws of crows. Foretelling the number of years that a man has yet to live. Giving charms to ward off arrows. Speaking the languages of animals—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such low arts.

Whereas some earn a living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as—Knowledge of the signs of good and bad qualities in the following things and of the marks in them denoting the health or luck of their owners: to wit, gems, staves, garments, swords, arrows, bows, other weapons, women, men, boys, girls, boy slaves, girl slaves, elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, oxen, goats, sheep, fowls, quails, iguanas, tortoises, and other animals—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such low arts.

Whereas some earn a living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as—Soothsaying, to the effect that: The chief will march

¹ The Vedic fire god. *'Aggi-homam:* telling people that a sacrifice, if offered in a fire of such and such a wood, will have such and such a result'—T. W. Rhys Davids: *Dial.* I, p. 17. ² Alchemic formulae? ³ By means of spells?

out (to make war). The chief will march back. Our chief will attack, and the enemy retreat. Our chief will attack, and we shall retreat. Our chief will gain the victory, and the enemy will suffer defeat; or *vice versa*—thus will there be victory on this side, defeat on that—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such low arts.

Whereas some earn a living by wrong means of livelihood—by such low arts as foretelling: There will be a lunar eclipse, or a solar eclipse, or an eclipse of a star. There will be aberration of the sun or the moon; or the sun or moon will return to its usual path. There will be aberration of the stars; or the stars will return to their usual course. There will be a fall of meteors. There will be a jungle (or heath) fire. There will be an earthquake. The god will thunder. There will be a clearing or dimness of the sun or the moon or the stars; or foretelling of each of these fifteen phenomena that they will betoken such and such a result—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such low arts.

Whereas some earn a living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as—Foretelling an abundant or a deficient rainfall. Foretelling a good harvest or scarcity of food. Foretelling peaceful conditions or disturbances. Foretelling an epidemic or a healthy season. Counting on the fingers, or without using the fingers. Forming approximate estimations. Composing ballads, poetizing. Casuistry, sophistry—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such low arts.

Whereas some earn a living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as—Arranging a lucky day for marriages in which the bride or bridegroom is brought home, or is sent forth. Fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of peace treaties, or for the outbreak of hostilities (or using charms to procure harmony or discord). Fixing a lucky time for the calling in of debts, or for the expenditure of money (or charms to bring good or ill luck in throwing dice). Using charms to make people lucky or unlucky. Using charms to procure abortion. Incantations to bring on dumbness, to keep a man's jaws locked, to make a man throw up his hands, to bring on deafness. Obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror. Obtaining oracular answers through a girl possessed, or from a deity.¹ The worship of the sun, or of the High God (*Brahmā*). Bringing forth flames from one's mouth. Invoking *Sirī*, the Goddess of Luck—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such low arts.

¹ 'Deva-pañho: also obtained through a girl, but this time a *deva-dāsi* or temple prostitute'—T. W. Rhys Davids: *Dial.* I, p. 24.

Whereas some recluses and brāhmaṇs, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn a living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, such as—Vowing gifts to a god if a certain benefit be granted. Paying such vows. Repeating charms while lodging in an earthen house. Causing virility or impotency by means of spells. Fixing on lucky sites for dwellings. Consecrating sites. Ceremonial rinsings of the mouth. Ceremonial batheings (of other people). Offering sacrifices. Administering emetics and purgatives.¹ Purging people to relieve the head (that is, by giving drugs to make people sneeze). Oiling people's ears. Treating people's eyes (with medicinal drops). Administering drugs through the nose. Applying collyrium to the eyes. Giving medicinal ointment for the eyes. Practising as an oculist. Practising as a surgeon, or as a children's doctor. Administering roots and drugs, or medicines in rotation—the ascetic Gotama holds aloof from such low arts.

These are the trifling matters, the minor details, of mere morality, that a simple man, wishing to praise the Awakened One, might mention.

THE PRIMITIVE PĀṬIMOKKHA

(*Dhammapada*, vs. 183–185; *Dīgha Nikāya*, xiv, 3)

This is taught by the wisest men:

'Abstain from all evil; acquire merit;
Purify your thoughts.'

'Patience is the greatest penance; *nibbāna* is the goal.
—No ascetic, no *saṃvara* is he who injures, who vexes another!'

'Hurt none by word nor deed (live so bounden, and restrained),
Moderate in eating, in resting and sleeping; devoted to contemplation.'

—This is the teaching of *buddhas*.

¹ The objection in this and the following cases was to recluses and brāhmaṇs practising medicine as a means of livelihood. They might do so gratis for themselves or for their companions.

THE PĀTIMOKKHA RULES

145 *disciplinary Rules for Monks of the Saṅgha*

(Vinaya Piṭaka: Suttavibhaṅga)

I. *Pārājika*: Four rules involving expulsion:

1. A monk should not indulge in sexual intercourse.
(*Later amplified to: A monk should not indulge in sexual intercourse—even with an animal.*)¹
2. A monk should not take anything that is not given him.
3. A monk should not intentionally deprive a human being of life—*nor incite another to suicide.*
4. A monk should not boast of possessing super-normal powers.

II. *Saṅghādisesa*: Thirteen rules involving an assembly of the Saṅgha:

- 1 (5). A monk should not emit semen—*except during a dream.*
- 2 (6). A monk should not wantonly come into physical contact with a woman.
- 3 (7). A monk should not speak lewd or suggestive words to a woman.
- 4 (8). A monk should not use his position to intimidate a woman into granting him sexual gratification.
- 5 (9). A monk should not act as a go-between for a man and woman.
- 6 (10). A monk having a hut built should have it made a prescribed size upon a properly marked out site.
- 7 (11). A monk having a larger dwelling (than a hut) made should have it built upon a properly marked out site.
- 8 (12). A monk should not maliciously bring a false charge against a monk with the object of bringing about his expulsion.
- 9 (13). A monk should not maliciously bring a false charge against a monk under the cover of some other legal point with the object of bringing about his expulsion.
- 10 (14). A monk who is trying to bring about a schism should up to three times be admonished to desist.
- 11 (15). Monks supporting a monk who is trying to bring about a schism should up to three times be admonished to desist.
- 12 (16). A monk who says to the other monks: 'Do not criticize me, then I will not criticize you', should up to three times be exhorted to listen to reason.

¹ Later amplifications and amendments to the rules are given in italics.

13 (17). A monk of depraved conduct who lives dependent upon a community that learns of and speaks of his ill fame should up to three times be advised to move on.

III. *Aniyata*: Two rules involving either expulsion, or an assembly of the Saṅgha, or expiation:

1 (18). A monk should not sit alone with a woman in a quiet secluded place. If it is a question as to whether he has committed the *pārājika* offence (i.e. rule 1) and a reliable lay woman witness was present, guilt may be assessed upon that witness's evidence.

2 (19). A monk should not sit alone with a woman in order to speak lewd words to her. If it is a question . . . upon that witness's evidence.

IV. *Nissaggiya*: Thirty rules involving forfeiture:

1 (20). A monk should not wear a robe extra (to the three allowed).

2 (21). A monk should keep his three robes with him.

3 (22). A monk should not store indefinitely unmade-up robe material.

4 (23). A monk should not allow a nun who is not a relation to wash or dye his robe.

5 (24). A monk should not accept a robe from a nun who is not a relation except in exchange.

6 (25). A monk should not ask a layman nor woman who is not a relation for a robe.

7 (26). A monk should not accept robe material more than is sufficient for an inner and an upper robe.

8 (27). A monk should not hint to a donor what quality of robe he would like.

9 (28). A monk should not hint to two donors that they club together in order to give him a robe of extra quality.

10 (29). A monk should not accept the price of a robe, but he may summon a monastery attendant to accept the cash and to procure the robe. If that attendant fails to present the monk with the robe, the monk should notify the donor.

11 (30). A monk should not cause a rug to be made that contains silk.

12 (31). A monk should not cause a rug to be made of black sheep's wool.

13 (32). A monk should have a rug made of two parts black sheep's wool, one part white, and one part mud coloured.

14 (33). A monk should make a new rug last six years.

- 15 (34). A monk who has a mat for resting on made from part of a rug should have it made uneven.
- 16 (35). A monk may accept wool given him on the road, but he should not take it with him for more than three leagues.
- 17 (36). A monk should not allow a nun who is not a relation to wash or dye wool for him.
- 18 (37). A monk should not accept gold and silver nor get another to do so for him, nor consent to its being held on his behalf.
- 19 (38). A monk should not engage in transactions in gold and silver.
- 20 (39). A monk should not barter.
- 21 (40). A monk should not keep an extra bowl for more than ten days.
- 22 (41). A monk should not accept a new bowl for one broken in fewer than five places.
- 23 (42). A monk should not store any of the five medicines—ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses—for more than seven days.
- 24 (43). A monk may prepare a covering cloth for the rains, but having made it he should not put it on more than a fortnight before the termination of the hot season.
- 25 (44). A monk should not take back in anger a robe which he has given away to a monk.
- 26 (45). A monk should not ask for yarn that weavers may make him a robe.
- 27 (46). A monk should not bribe weavers who are making a robe for him to weave it thus and thus.
- 28 (47). A monk should not keep aside a special robe, that has been given him out of season, after the time of official robe-bestowing.
- 29 (48). A monk who is staying in dangerous jungle places may store one of his robes in a house, but he should not remain separated from it for more than six nights.
- 30 (49). A monk should not appropriate to himself any article that is the common property of the Saṅgha.

V. *Pācittiya*: Ninety-two rules involving expiation:

- 1 (50). A monk should not tell a lie.
- 2 (51). A monk should not use insulting speech.
- 3 (52). A monk should not utter slander.
- 4 (53). A monk should not make one who is not ordained recite the *suttas*¹ line by line.

¹ The Pāli discourses or scriptural stanzas.

5 (54). A monk should not lie down in a sleeping-place with one who is not ordained—for more than two or three nights.

6 (55). A monk should not lie down in a sleeping-place with a woman.

7 (56). A monk should not teach the *Dhamma* to a woman (i.e. in private).

A monk should not teach more than five or six sentences of the Dhamma to a woman unless an educated man be present.

8 (57). A monk should not divulge his possession of a super-normal power to one not ordained.

9 (58). A monk should not divulge a monk's lapses of disciplinary conduct to one not ordained.

10 (59). A monk should not dig the ground nor have it dug.

11 (60). A monk should not destroy vegetation.

12 (61). A monk should not be evasive nor contrary regarding his disciplinary conduct.

13 (62). A monk should not criticize a monk so as to bring discredit upon him.

14 (63). A monk should not take an article of furniture outside the monastery and later go off leaving it there, nor should he depart without mentioning his going.

15 (64). A monk should not leave a monastery without clearing up his sleeping-place, nor depart without mentioning his going.

16 (65). A monk should not lie down and encroach upon the sleeping-place of a monk with the object of getting rid of him.

17 (66). A monk should not in anger throw a monk out of the monastery nor cause him to be thrown out.

18 (67). A monk should not sit or recline upon articles of monastic furniture that are fitted with removable feet.

19 (68). A monk should not request a donor who has built him a dwelling to carry out alterations or additions.

20 (69). A monk should not sprinkle nor have sprinkled water which he knows contains life.

21 (70). A monk should not instruct nuns unless he has been appointed so to do by the Saṅgha.

22 (71). A monk appointed to instruct nuns should not do so after sunset.

23 (72). A monk should not go to nuns' quarters to instruct them except when a nun is ill.

24 (73). A monk should not accuse monks of instructing nuns for the sake of gain.

25 (74). A monk should not give robe material to a nun who is not a relation except in exchange.

26 (75). A monk should not sew a robe for a nun who is not a relation.

27 (76). A monk should not arrange to accompany a nun on the road except in a time of danger.

28 (77). A monk should not arrange to accompany a nun in a boat except at a ferry.

29 (78). A monk should not eat food procured by a nun—*unless the donor be apprised of it.*

30 (79). A monk should not sit alone with a nun in a private place.

31 (80). A monk should not partake more than one consecutive meal at an establishment frequented by the public (e.g. a hotel)—*unless he is ill.*

32 (81). A monk should not join a group of monks that has been invited out to a meal—*unless he is ill or for a robe-bestowing ceremony, during a journey, in a boat, at a time of scarcity, by special invitation.*

33 (82). A monk should accept food and invitations to meals in the order in which he receives them—*unless ill or for a robe-bestowing ceremony.*

34 (83). A monk should not accept more than two or three bowlfuls of cakes from one family at a time.

35 (84). A monk having finished his meal should not partake of more food—*unless it be something left over.*

36 (85). A monk should not invite a monk who has finished his meal to partake of more food with the object of bringing discredit upon him.

37 (86). A monk should not partake of food after noon.

38 (87). A monk should not partake of food that has been stored.

39 (88). A monk should not ask for good foods, such as ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses, fish, meat, milk, curds—*unless he is ill.*

40 (89). A monk should not help himself to the food and drink provided—*except water for rinsing out the mouth.*

41 (90). A monk should not serve food to ascetics and wanderers.

42 (91). A monk who has asked a monk to accompany him among the houses to collect food, and later tires of that monk's company and wishes to be alone, should not send him away.

43 (92). A monk who has visited a house to collect food should not linger there after food has been put into his bowl.

44 (93). A monk should not join a woman who is sitting on a private secluded seat.

45 (94). A monk should not go together with a woman and sit in a private place.

46 (95). A monk who has been invited by a family to a meal should not call upon other families on the way—*nor on the way back*—except for a robe-bestowing ceremony; or, unless he has previously notified a monk of his intention.

47 (96). A monk should not allow a donor to supply him with medicine for more than four months unless the invitation to do so be renewed or it is a permanent invitation or the monk is ill.

48 (97). A monk should not visit an army that is on active service—unless invited by a soldier there who is sick.

49 (98). A monk who has had to visit an army should not stay there more than two or three nights.

50 (99). A monk who stays with an army for two or three nights should not go to witness any military exercise, manœuvre, or tournament.

51 (100). A monk should not drink wines and spirits.

52 (101). A monk should not tickle a monk.

53 (102). A monk should not sport in the water (e.g. while bathing).

54 (103). A monk should not be disrespectful (to man nor *dhamma*).

55 (104). A monk should not frighten a monk.

56 (105). A monk should not light a fire nor cause one to be lit because he feels cold—unless he is ill, or for some other good reason (e.g. to light lamps).

57 (106). A monk should not bathe more than once a fortnight—except during the weeks of the hot seasons or times for fever; unless he is ill, or working (e.g. building), or on a journey, or during windy weather (to wash off the dust).

58 (107). A monk should mark a new robe by making a smudge upon it with blue or mud or black (e.g. charcoal).

59 (108). A monk should not use a robe which he has agreed to pass on to another monk or to a novice.

60 (109). A monk should not hide nor cause to be hidden any of a monk's things, even in fun.

61 (110). A monk should not intentionally deprive a living thing of life.

62 (111). A monk should not use water that contains living things.

63 (112). A monk should not reopen a legal question that has been settled.

64 (113). A monk should not conceal a monk's misconduct.

65 (114). A monk should not confer the higher ordination upon an individual under twenty years of age. Such an ordination is null.

66 (115). A monk should not arrange to accompany thieves on the road.

67 (116). A monk should not arrange to accompany a woman on the road.

68 (117). A monk should not misrepresent the *Dhamma* by calling handicaps to progress not handicaps. Monks should remonstrate with him up to three times.

69 (118). A monk should shun a monk who refuses to give up such an erroneous view (as that given in the preceding rule).

70 (119). A monk should shun a monk who has been told to move on on account of refusing to give up such an erroneous view (as that given in the rule preceding the last).

71 (120). A monk should not, when spoken to by monks regarding a rule, retort: 'Before I accept your instructions concerning this rule I shall seek the advice of some other monk.'

72 (121). A monk should not, when these rules (of discipline) are being recited, disparage them saying: 'What is the use of going through all these minor rules? it only leads to depression, worry, and misunderstanding.'

73 (122). A monk who has broken a rule and failed to confess, through his ignorance to understand the ruling, should, when later he comprehends the ruling, have his past offences dealt with.

74 (123). A monk should not strike a monk in anger.

75 (124). A monk should not threaten to strike a monk.

76 (125). A monk should not falsely charge a monk of a *saṅghādisesa* offence.

77 (126). A monk should not disturb a monk's peace of mind.

78 (127). A monk should not stand and listen to monks who are disputing.

79 (128). A monk who has formally sanctioned a collective decision

of the Saṅgha (regarding the) rules should not later criticize that decision.

80 (129). A monk should not leave a Saṅgha assembly that is in session without giving his sanction (to the motion under discussion).

81 (130). A monk who has sanctioned the assembly's decision to give away a robe should not afterwards make an accusation of favouritism.

82 (131). A monk should not give a monk anything that is the common property of the Saṅgha.

83 (132). A monk should not enter royal apartments unannounced.

84 (133). A monk should not pick up or cause to be picked up treasure nor any such (valuable) thing—*except in a monastery or house: and even then he should lay it aside against the owner's coming to claim it.*

85 (134). A monk should not visit the village between noon and sunrise—*without permission (of monks), or except upon a matter of urgency.*

86 (135). A monk should not have a needle case made of bone, ivory, or horn.

87 (136). A monk who is having a couch or chair made should have the legs made a prescribed length.

88 (137). A monk should not have a couch nor chair made covered with cotton.

89 (138). A monk who is having a mat to rest upon made should have it made a prescribed size.

90 (139). A monk who is having a cloth made to wear during a skin disease (between the affected part and the robe) should have it made a prescribed size.

91 (140). A monk who is having a covering cloth for the rains made should have it made a prescribed size.

92 (141). A monk should not have an outsize robe made.

VI. *Pāṭidesaniya*: Four rules involving confession:

1 (142). A monk should not accept food from a nun.

2 (143). A monk should not allow a nun to supervise the serving of his food.

3 (144). A monk should not accept invitations for meals from families that, though well known for their faith, are in straitened circumstances—*except by special prior invitation, or unless he is ill.*

4 (145). A monk living in dangerous jungle places should not go to a monastery for a meal without giving prior notification—*unless he is ill.*

SIKKHĀPADAS

The Novices' ten Abstentions(Ref.: *Anguttara Nikāya*—the Threes, Sutta 70)

Undertaking to observe the rules of abstinence:

- I. from taking life
- II. from taking things not given
- III. from unchastity
- IV. from uttering untruths
- V. from drinking wines and spirits
- VI. from eating food after noon
- VII. from dancing, singing, music, shows
- VIII. from garlands, perfume, cosmetics, and from wearing ornaments or decorations
- IX. from high and luxurious couches
- X. from accepting gold or silver.

THE PRECEPTS

For Lay Buddhists(Ref.: *Anguttara Nikāya*—the Fives, Sutta 179)

'I undertake to observe the precept:

- I. to abstain from killing
- II. to abstain from stealing
- III. to abstain from adultery
- IV. to abstain from lying
- V. to abstain from intoxication.'

EXTRACT FROM THE BRAHMAJĀLA SUTTA

(Dīgha Nikāya 1)

The Buddha: 'Disciples, when other people adversely criticize me, or criticize the Dhamma or the Saṅgha, you should not feel annoyed or perturbed, nor bear ill-will. For if you, as the result of such criticism, become angry and put out, that would upset your equipoise. If, when

others criticize, one experiences anger and bitterness, would one be able to estimate accurately the pros and cons of that criticism?"

—'Lord, one would not!'

'When others are disparaging me or disparage the Dhamma or Saṅgha, you should note the inaccuracies in their statement and point them out objectively: "This is not so because . . ., that is not so because . . ., such does not apply to us, such is not our philosophy".

'Conversely; when others praise me, or praise the Dhamma or Saṅgha, you should not feel flattered or glad, nor elated. For if you, as the result of such praise, become carried away, that would upset your equipoise. When others are praising Buddha, Dhamma, or Saṅgha, you should acknowledge the accuracies in their statement objectively: "This is so because . . ., that is so because . . ., such applies to us, such is our philosophy".'

THE BUDDHA'S LAST WORDS

(From the *Mahā Pari-nibbāṇa Sutta: Dīgha Nikāya*, xvi)

'So long as the monks shall persevere in kindly acts, words and thoughts towards their fellows both in public and in private—so long as they shall share impartially with their modest companions all that they receive in accordance with the recognized discipline of the Saṅgha, even down to the contents of the food bowl—so long as they shall live among the worthy in the practice, both in public and private, of those qualities that bring freedom and are praised by the wise; that are pure (of desire); and that are conducive to concentration—so long as the monks shall live among the worthy, cherishing, both in public and private, that infallible intuition that results in the utter cessation of the sorrow of him who acts according to it—so long may you be expected not to decline but to prosper.'

* * *

'It is through not understanding and grasping the four aryan Truths, monks, that we have had to continue so long, to wander so long, in this weary path of rebirths, both you and I!

'And what are these four?—The aryan Truth as to sorrow; the aryan Truth as to the origin of sorrow; the aryan Truth as to the elimination of sorrow; and the aryan Truth as to the way to eliminate sorrow. But when these aryan Truths are grasped and understood the

desire for more life ceases, that which results in rebirth is destroyed and there then is an end of sorrow!

* * *

To Ānanda: 'I have taught the Dhamma without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the norm, Ānanda, the *Tathāgata* has no such thing as the closed fist of those teachers who hold back certain things . . .

'Be islands unto yourselves, Ānanda! Be a refuge to yourselves; do not take to yourselves any other refuge. See Truth as an island, see Truth as a refuge. Do not seek refuge in anyone but yourselves.

'And how, Ānanda, is a *bhikkhu* to be an island unto himself, a refuge to himself, taking to himself no other refuge, seeing Truth as an island, seeing as a refuge Truth, not seeking refuge in anyone but himself?

'Thus, monks: as to the body, a *bhikkhu* continues so to regard the body that he remains alert, mindful, and self-possessed, having conquered desire-attachment for the things of the world. (And similarly:) as to sensations . . . as to states of mind . . . as to mental conceptions, a *bhikkhu* continues so to regard each that he remains alert, mindful, and self-possessed, having conquered desire-attachment for the things of the world.

'And whoever, Ānanda, now or after I am dead, shall be an island unto themselves and a refuge to themselves, shall take to themselves no other refuge, but seeing Truth as an island, seeing as a refuge Truth, shall not seek refuge in anyone but themselves—it is they, Ānanda, among my disciples, who shall reach the Further Shore! *But they must make the effort themselves.*'

* * *

'Have done, Ānanda! do not weep, do not distress yourself! Have I not often told you that it is in the very nature of things that we must eventually be parted from all that is near and dear to us? For how, Ānanda, can it be otherwise? Since everything born, evolved, and organized contains within itself the germs of disintegration, how can it be otherwise than that a being should pass away? No other condition is possible!

'For long you, Ānanda, have been very near to me by acts of devotion, faithful and affectionate, ever loyal beyond all reckoning.

For long you, Ānanda, have been very near to me by words of devotion, faithful and affectionate, ever loyal beyond all reckoning. For long you, Ānanda, have been very near to me by thoughts of devotion, faithful and affectionate, ever loyal beyond all reckoning. You have done splendidly, Ānanda! Only persevere in your efforts and you too shall soon be free from all hindrances' (to liberation).

* * *

'Maybe, Ānanda, some of you will have the idea: "The word of the teacher is no more, and now we are without a leader!" But, Ānanda, you must not think of it like this. The Dhamma, and the *Vinaya* directions for the Saṅgha, which I have expounded and established for you, they, after I am gone, shall be your Teacher.'

* * *

'After I am gone, Ānanda, let the Saṅgha, if it think fit, abolish the lesser and minor rules of discipline.'

* * *

Finally, the Buddha exhorted the monks, saying: 'This I tell you, disciples—'All conditioned things disintegrate. Strive without ceasing to attain your liberation!'"

SADDHAMMA

Essential and specific items of Buddhist doctrine¹

I. *The Four Aryan Truths and the Middle Way*

- (1) That life is subject to sorrow;
- (2) That this sorrow is caused by ignorance which results in desire-attachment;
- (3) That this sorrow can be eliminated by the elimination of desire-attachment;
- (4) The way to eliminate desire-attachment: in principle, the Middle Way of moderation with detachment; in particular, the Aryan Eight-fold Path, *viz.*:

(i) right Views (*sammā ditthi*): seeing life as it is, in accord with its three characteristics of *dukkha*, *anicca*, *anattā*;² and appreciating the four truths,

¹ Accepted as fundamental by every Buddhist sect. ² *Vide infra*, p. 157, II.

- (ii) right Mindedness (*sammā sankappa*): being motivated by friendly thoughts, without prejudice, towards one's fellow-human beings and towards all other forms of sentient life;
- (iii) right Speech (*sammā vācā*): speaking kindly and truthfully, and narrating incidents accurately,
- (iv) right Action (*sammā kammanta*): acting skilfully and sympathetically, while avoiding vain or violent efforts,
- (v) right Livelihood (*sammā ājīva*): practising a means of living that does not cause oneself nor others to infringe lawful morality (e.g. the five precepts¹);
- (vi) right Endeavour (*sammā vāyāma*): self-perfection by avoiding and rejecting ignoble qualities while acquiring and fostering noble qualities,
- (vii) right Mindfulness (*sammā sati*): the cultivation and practice of self-awareness and compassion resulting in self-reliance and equanimity,
- (viii) right Concentration (*sammā samādhi*): contemplation culminating in intellectual intuition, wisdom.

II. *The Three Characteristics of Life*

- (1) *Dukkha*: sorrow, disharmony.²
- (2) *Anicca*: change, impermanence.
- (3) *Anattā*: unsubstantiality, non-egoism.

N.B.—A human being consists only of the five **KHANDHAS**, viz. form (*rūpa*), sensation (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), mental tendencies and conditions (*saṅkhāra*), and consciousness (*viññāna*).

III. *The Causal Formula*

Everything that is subject to origination is also subject to cessation. (Ref.: *S* ii, 12, 45). For example:

An object plus a sense organ gives rise to consciousness (e.g. a nut + your eye = seeing consciousness).

consciousness (*viññāna*) → impression (on the mind, association)
 sense impression (*phassa*) → sensation, feeling (of want or aversion)

sensation (*vedanā*) → craving (desire: to have or to hate)

¹ For the five Precepts, *vide supra*, p. 153.

² = I (1) above (p. 156).

craving (<i>tanha</i>)	→ clinging (attachment: prejudice for or against)
clinging (<i>upādāna</i>)	→ becoming, conception (becoming like, the forming of the character)
becoming (<i>bhava</i>)	→ become (come into existence, rebirth)
birth (<i>jāti</i>)	→ old age, death (<i>jarā-marana</i>). ¹

N.B.—By applying the Causal Formula to the Aryan Truths, it can be seen that if a sense impression (*phassa*) gives rise to a sensation (*vedanā*) that is neither pleasant nor painful, but is indifferent, then no craving (*tanha*) results, and therefore no clinging (*upādāna*). This *upādāna* or prejudice is the fuel that keeps the fire of life burning. Without it there is no more becoming (*bhava*), no rebirth (*jāti*), and no more sorrow (*dukkha*). This is Liberation, the deathless state of Nirvāṇa (*Nibbāna*).

¹ The maximum number of links (*nidāna*) in the chain of Causation is twelve, but some of them are redundant.

APPENDIX A

Buddha Yoga, Buddhist Mental Culture

THE FOUR SUBLIME STATES OF MIND: BRAHMA-VIHĀRA

(Ref.: *Dīgha Nikāya* xxxiii, 4)

I. *Mettā: Benevolence*

Here, with thoughts of benevolence, one pervades first one direction, then a second direction, then a third direction, then a fourth direction, then above, then below, then all around. Identifying oneself with all, one pervades the entire universe with thoughts of benevolence, with heart grown great, wide, deep, boundless, purified of all ill-will.

II. *Karunā: Compassion*

Here, with thoughts of compassion, one pervades first one direction, then a second direction, then a third direction, then a fourth direction, then above, then below, then all around. Identifying oneself with all, one pervades the entire universe with thoughts of compassion, with heart grown great, wide, deep, boundless, purified of all ill-will.

III. *Muditā: Joyous Sympathy*

Here, with thoughts of joyous sympathy, one pervades first one direction, then a second direction, then a third direction, then a fourth direction, then above, then below, then all around. Identifying oneself with all, one pervades the entire universe with thoughts of joyous sympathy, with heart grown great, wide, deep, boundless, purified of all ill-will.

IV. *Upekkhā: Equanimity*

Here, with thoughts of equanimity, one pervades first one direction, then a second direction, then a third direction, then a fourth direction, then above, then below, then all around. Identifying oneself with all, one pervades the entire universe with thoughts of equanimity, with heart grown great, wide, deep, boundless, purified of all ill-will.

THE FOUR METHODS OF MINDFULNESS:
SATIPATTHĀNA

(*Satipatthāna Sutta: Majjhima Nikāya x*)

Evaṁ me sutam!

Once when the Wholly-Awakened One was among the Kuru people he visited the market town of Kammassadhamma.

There the Awakened One addressed some monks saying: 'The way, monks, by which you can attain purity, can resolve trouble and dis-harmony, get beyond bodily and mental suffering, and tread that path which takes one to *Nibbāna*, is by the four applications of mindfulness.

'What are the four applications of mindfulness?

'First, monks, one is mindful of the body (*kāya*), carefully thinking of it and concentrating upon it while giving up thoughts as to one's worldly desires and troubles.

'Second, one is mindful of the sensations (*vedanā*), carefully thinking of them and concentrating upon them while giving up thoughts as to one's worldly desires and troubles.

'Third, one is mindful of the states of mind (*cittā*), carefully thinking of them and concentrating upon them while giving up thoughts as to one's worldly desires and troubles.

'Fourth, one is mindful of the mental conceptions (*dhammā*), carefully thinking of them and concentrating upon them while giving up thoughts as to one's worldly desires and troubles.'

AWARENESS OF ONE'S BODY

'How, monks, is one mindful of the body?'

i. *Breathing Exercises*

'In this case, monks, one finds some secluded spot, such as under a tree in a forest, or in a quiet room; one squats on the ground with legs crossed under one and keeping one's body straight; and one concentrates on the object of meditation—on one's breathing.

'One practises inhaling, practises exhaling. Knowing "I take a deep inhalation", one inhales deeply; knowing "I take a deep exhalation" one exhales deeply. Knowing "I take a brief inhalation", one inhales briefly; knowing "I take a brief exhalation", one exhales briefly.

'Then, "Conscious of the whole body", one breathes in; and "Conscious of the whole body", one breathes out.

'"Inducing a feeling of calm and poise to the body" one gently inhales . . . gently exhales.

'Just as a master tailor or a tailor's assistant cuts long or cuts short to suit his requirements, so does a *yogi* breathe long or breathe short to suit his requirements.

'And one remains aware of the body by means of one's own respiration or another's respiration, or by means of both one's own and another's respiration.

'Concentrating thus upon the body enables one to meditate on the coming-to-be of the body, on the passing away of the body, and on the transitory existence of the body. One understands that "(not 'I' but) the body exists"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'This is one way, monks, by which one is mindful of the body.'

ii. *Awareness of the four Modes of Deportment*

'Furthermore, monks, when one is walking one knows "I am walking"; when one is standing one knows "I am standing"; when one is sitting one knows "I am sitting"; when one is lying down one knows "I am lying down"; in whichever of these positions one's body is, one remains aware of it.

'And one remains aware of the body by means of the modes of deportment of one's own body or the modes of deportment of another's body, or by means of the modes of deportment of both one's own and another's body.

'Concentrating thus upon the body enables one to meditate on the coming-to-be of the body, on the passing away of the body, and on the transitory existence of the body. One understands that "(not 'I' but) the body exists"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of the body.'

iii. *Awareness of the Functioning of the Body*

'Furthermore, monks, when one is going and coming one knows that one is going, that one is coming; when one is looking in front of one

and looking to the side one knows that one is looking in front of one, that one is looking to the side; when one is bending and stretching one knows that one is bending, that one is stretching; when one is wearing the three or two robes and carrying the food bowl¹ one knows that one is wearing the three robes, the two robes, that one is carrying the food bowl; when one is eating, drinking, chewing, tasting, one knows that one is eating, that one is drinking, that one is chewing, that one is tasting; when one is defecating and urinating one knows that one is defecating, that one is urinating; when one is moving, not moving, going to sleep, awakened from sleep, talking, not talking, one knows that one is moving, that one is not moving, that one is going to sleep, that one is awakened from sleep, that one is talking, that one is not talking.

"And one remains aware of the body by means of the functioning of one's own body or the functioning of another's body, or by means of the functioning of both one's own and another's body.

"Concentrating thus upon the body enables one to meditate on the coming-to-be of the body, on the passing away of the body, and on the transitory existence of the body. One understands that "(not 'I' but) the body exists"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

"This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of the body.'

iv. *Meditation on the Repulsiveness of the Body*

"Furthermore, monks, one meditates upon the body as it is encased with skin and full of impure matter from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head, meditating thus: "The body consists of hairs of the head, hairs of the body, nails, teeth, skin, muscle, tendon, bone, marrow; kidneys, heart, liver, spleen, pleura, lungs, stomach, intestines, mesentery; faeces, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, serum, saliva, mucus, synovial fluid, urine; and in the head the brain."

"Just like an old bag with orifices at top and bottom, and stuffed full of groceries, is the body encased with skin and full of impure matter from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head.

¹ The robes and bowl prescribed for the *bhikkhu* or Buddhist monk.

'And one remains aware of the body by means of the constituents of one's own body or the constituents of another's body, or by means of the constituents of both one's own and another's body.

'Concentrating thus upon the body enables one to meditate on the coming-to-be of the body, on the passing away of the body, and on the transitory existence of the body. One understands that "(not 'I' but) the body exists"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of the body.'

v. *Meditation on the four Elements of the Body*

'Furthermore, monks, one meditates upon the body wherever and however it happens to be, with regard to its elements, meditating thus: "In this body is found the solid element; in this body is found the liquid element; in this body is found the element heat; in this body is found the element motion."

'As a beef butcher or his assistant, who has slain a cow, chopped it up, and hawking in a shopping centre thinks of it as meat, so the *yogi* thinks: "This body consists of the elements extension, cohesion, heat, motion."

'And one remains aware of the body by means of the elements of one's own body or of the elements of another's body, or by means of the elements of both one's own and another's body.

'Concentrating thus upon the body enables one to meditate on the coming-to-be of the body, on the passing away of the body, and on the transitory existence of the body. One understands that "(not 'I' but) the body exists"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of the body.'

vi. *Nine Meditations on Corpses and Skeletons*

(1) 'Furthermore, monks, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a corpse, deposited at a place for the dead, that is one or two or three days dead, bloated, purple, and decomposing, he compares it with his own body, reflecting "This body (of mine) is the same potentially as that body, will one day resemble that body: it cannot escape mortality".'

(2) 'Furthermore, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a corpse, deposited at a place for the dead, that is being eaten by crows, hawks, vultures, dogs, jackals, or worms, he compares it with his own body, reflecting . . .'

(3) 'Furthermore, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a corpse, deposited at a place for the dead, that is reduced to a skeleton, bloody and with some flesh attached to it by tendon, he compares it with his own body . . .'

(4) 'Furthermore, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a skeleton, deposited at a place for the dead, that is blood-stained but has no flesh attached to it, he compares it with his own body . . .'

(5) 'Furthermore, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a skeleton, deposited at a place for the dead, that is neither blood-stained nor has any flesh attached to it, he compares it with his own body . . .'

(6) 'Furthermore, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a skeleton, deposited at a place for the dead, that consists of a scattered collection of bones—here a bone of the hand, there a foot bone, a tibia or a fibula, a femur, a part of the pelvis, vertebrae, bones of the skull—he compares it with his own body . . .'

(7) 'Furthermore, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a skeleton, deposited at a place for the dead, with its bones bleached as white as shell, he compares it with his own body . . .'

(8) 'Furthermore, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a skeleton, deposited at a place for the dead a year since, and reduced to a mere heap of bones, he compares it with his own body . . .'

(9) 'Furthermore, if a *bhikkhu* comes across a skeleton, deposited at a place for the dead, that consists of bones rotted away and reduced to powder, he compares it with his own body, reflecting "This body (of mine) is the same potentially as that body, will one day resemble that body, it cannot escape mortality".'

'And he remains aware of the body by means of the mortality of his own body or the mortality of another's body, or by means of the mortality of both his own and another's body.'

'Concentrating thus upon the body enables him to meditate on the coming-to-be of the body, on the passing away of the body, and on the transitory existence of the body. He understands that "(not 'I' but) the body exists"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and he becomes independent and ceases to bind himself with worldly attachments.'

'This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of the body.'

AWARENESS OF THE SENSATIONS

'And how, monks, is one mindful of the sensations?'

Meditation on the Sensations

'In this case when one experiences any pleasant sensation, one knows "A pleasant sensation"; when one experiences any unpleasant sensation, one knows "An unpleasant sensation"; when one experiences any sensation that is neither pleasant nor unpleasant, one knows "A sensation neither pleasant nor unpleasant".

'When one experiences a bodily sensation that is pleasant, one knows "A pleasant bodily sensation"; when one experiences a mental sensation that is pleasant, one knows "A pleasant mental sensation"; when one experiences a bodily sensation that is unpleasant, one knows "An unpleasant bodily sensation"; when one experiences a mental sensation that is unpleasant, one knows "An unpleasant mental sensation"; when one experiences a bodily sensation that is neither pleasant nor unpleasant, one knows "A neutral bodily sensation"; when one experiences a mental sensation that is neither pleasant nor unpleasant, one knows "A neutral mental sensation".

'And one remains aware of the sensations by means of one's own sensations or the sensations of another, or of the sensations of both oneself and another.

'Concentrating thus upon the sensations enables one to meditate on the coming of sensations, on the passing away of sensations, and on the transitory existence of sensations. One understands that "(not 'I' but) the sensations exist"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'In this way, monks, one is mindful of the sensations.'

AWARENESS OF STATES OF MIND

'And how, monks, is one mindful of the states of mind?'

Meditation on the State of the Mind

'In this case one is conscious that the mind is in a state of lust, or in a state free from lust; conscious that the mind is in a state of hatred, or in a state free from hatred; conscious that the mind is in a foolish state,

or in a rational state; conscious that the mind is in a sluggish state, or in a decisive state; conscious that the mind is in a muddled state, or in a clear state; conscious that the mind is in an exalted state, or in a depressed state; conscious that the mind is in an unoriginal state, or in an original state, conscious that the mind is in a concentrated state, or in a weak state; conscious that the mind is in a supramundane state, or in a mundane state.

'And one remains aware of the states of mind by means of one's own state of mind or the state of mind of another, or of the states of mind of both oneself and another.

'Concentrating thus upon the states of mind enables one to meditate on the coming of states of mind, on the passing away of states of mind, and on the transitory existence of states of mind. One understands that "(not 'I' but) consciousness exists"—with increased mindfulness comes increased understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'In this way, monks, one is mindful of the state of mind.'

AWARENESS OF MENTAL CONCEPTIONS

'And how, monks, is one mindful of mental conceptions?'

i. *Meditation on the five Hindrances*

'In this case, monks, one is mindful of mental conceptions by meditating on the five hindrances (*nīvarana*).

'How does one meditate on the five hindrances?

'Thus: having sensual desire one knows "I have sensual desire", or not having sensual desire one knows "I have no sensual desire". One knows how sensual desire arises, that it can be overcome, and how that it ceases to arise after it has been overcome.

'Being angry one knows "I am angry", or not being angry one knows "I am not angry". One knows how anger arises, that it can be overcome, and how that it ceases to arise after it has been overcome.

'Feeling lazy and apathetic one knows "I feel lazy, apathetic", or not feeling lazy and apathetic one knows "I do not feel lazy and apathetic". One knows how laziness and apathy arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'Being restless and worried one knows "I am restless, worried", or

not being restless and worried one knows "I am not restless and worried". One knows how restlessness and worry arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'Having doubts one knows "I have doubts", or not having doubts one knows "I have no doubts". One knows how doubts arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'And one remains aware of the mental conceptions by means of one's own hindrances or the hindrances of another, or by means of the hindrances of both oneself and another.

'Concentrating thus upon the hindrances enables one to meditate on the coming of the hindrances, on the passing away of the hindrances, and on the transitory existence of the hindrances. One understands that "(not 'I' but) mental conceptions exist"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'This is one way, monks, by which one is mindful of mental conceptions.'

ii. *Meditation on the five Sensorial Aggregates*

'Furthermore, monks, one is mindful of mental conceptions by meditating on the five sensorial aggregates (*khandhā*).

'How does one meditate on the five sensorial aggregates?

'Thus: one reflects "Such is corporeality (*rūpa*); such is the coming-to-be of corporeality, and such the passing away of corporeality".

'One reflects "Such is sensation (*vedanā*); such is the coming of sensation, and such the passing of sensation".

'One reflects "Such is perception (*saññā*); such is the coming of perception, and such the passing of perception".

'One reflects "Such are the mental tendencies and conditions (*saṅkhāra*); such is the coming of mental formations, and such the passing of mental formations".

'One reflects "Such is consciousness (*viññāna*); such is the coming of consciousness, and such the passing of consciousness".

'And one remains aware of the mental conceptions by means of one's own sensorial aggregates or the aggregates of another, or by means of the sensorial aggregates of both oneself and another.

'Concentrating thus upon the sensorial aggregates enables one to

meditate on the coming-to-be of the sensorial aggregates, on the passing away of the aggregates, and on the transitory existence of the aggregates. One understands that "(not 'I' but) mental conceptions exist"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

"This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of mental conceptions."

iii. *Meditation on the six Senses with their Objects*

'Furthermore, monks, one is mindful of mental conceptions by meditating on the six senses and their respective objects (*āyatana*).

"How does one meditate on the six senses and their respective objects?

"Thus: one understands the eye and sights, and the fetters that come with seeing. One understands how the fetters arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'One understands the ear and sounds, and the fetters that come with hearing. One understands how the fetters arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'One understands the nose and odours, and the fetters that come with smelling. One understands how the fetters arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'One understands the palate and flavours, and the fetters that come with tasting. One understands how the fetters arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'One understands the skin and feelings, and the fetters that come with touching. One understands how the fetters arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'One understands the mind and ideas, and the fetters that come with thinking. One understands how the fetters arise, that they can be overcome, and how that they cease to arise after they have been overcome.

'And one remains aware of the mental conceptions by means of one's own senses with their respective objects or the senses and their objects of another, or of the senses and objects of both oneself and another.

"Concentrating thus upon the senses and their respective objects enables one to meditate on the coming of the senses and their objects,

on the passing away of the senses and their objects, and on the transitory existence of the senses and their objects. One understands that “(not ‘I’ but) mental conceptions exist”—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.’

‘This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of mental conceptions.’

iv. *Meditation on the seven Factors of Wisdom*

‘Furthermore, monks, one is mindful of mental conceptions by meditating on the seven factors of wisdom.

‘How does one meditate on the seven factors of wisdom?

‘Thus: concerning the factor of wisdom attentiveness one knows “I possess attentiveness”, or “I do not possess attentiveness”. One reflects how this factor arises, and how with practice it can be cultivated.

‘Concerning the factor of wisdom investigation of the (Buddha) doctrine one knows “I investigate the doctrine”, or “I do not investigate the doctrine”. One reflects how this factor arises, and how with practice it can be cultivated.

‘Concerning the factor of wisdom perseverance one knows “I persevere”, or “I do not persevere”. One reflects how this factor arises, and how with practice it can be cultivated.

‘Concerning the factor of wisdom enthusiasm one knows “I am enthusiastic”, or “I am not enthusiastic”. One reflects how this factor arises, and how with practice it can be cultivated.

‘Concerning the factor of wisdom calmness one knows “I keep calm”, or “I do not keep calm”. One reflects how this factor arises, and how with practice it can be cultivated.

‘Concerning the factor of wisdom concentration one knows “I exercise concentration”, or “I do not exercise concentration”. One reflects how this factor arises, and how with practice it can be cultivated.

‘Concerning the factor of wisdom equanimity one knows “I have equanimity”, or “I have not equanimity”. One reflects how this factor arises, and how with practice it can be cultivated.

‘And one remains aware of the mental conceptions by means of one’s own mental conceptions or the mental conceptions of another, or of the mental conceptions of both oneself and another.

‘Concentrating thus upon the mental conceptions enables one to

meditate on the coming of mental conceptions, on the passing away of mental conceptions, and on the transitory existence of mental conceptions. One understands that "(not 'I' but) mental conceptions exist"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of mental conceptions.'

v. *Meditation on the four Truths*

'Furthermore, monks, one is mindful of mental conceptions by meditating on the four aryan truths.

'How does one meditate on the four aryan truths?

'Thus: one contemplates "Such is sorrow (*dukkha*)", as a truth.

'One contemplates "Such is the coming-to-be of sorrow", as a truth.

'One contemplates "Such is the passing away of sorrow", as a truth.

'One contemplates "Such is the path that takes one away from sorrow", as a truth.

'And one remains aware of the mental conceptions by means of one's own mental conceptions or the mental conceptions of another, or of the mental conceptions of both oneself and another.

'Concentrating thus upon the mental conceptions enables one to meditate on the coming of mental conceptions, on the passing away of mental conceptions, and on the transitory existence of mental conceptions. One understands that "(not 'I' but) mental conceptions exist"—with increased mindfulness comes increasing understanding; and one becomes independent and ceases to bind oneself with worldly attachments.

'This is another way, monks, by which one is mindful of mental conceptions.

'Certainly, monks, if anyone should successfully practise for seven years the four applications of mindfulness by way of these meditations, one would attain liberation in this present lifetime or, if there already exists some *karmic* obstruction necessitating one more rebirth, then in one's next lifetime.

'Not in seven years!—for if anyone should successfully practise for one year, for one month, even for seven days the four applications of mindfulness by way of these meditations, one would attain liberation

in this present lifetime or, if there already exists some *karmic* obstruction necessitating one more rebirth, then in one's next lifetime.

Therefore was it stated: "The way, monks, by which you can attain purity, can resolve trouble and disharmony, get beyond bodily and mental suffering, and tread that path which takes one to *Nibbāna*, is by the four applications of mindfulness".

Thus said the Wholly-Awakened One. And the monks were satisfied.

JHĀNA: MENTAL ABSORPTION

(Ref.: *Dīgha* xxxiii, 4; *Majjhima* xxx; and *Ānguttara* iv)

Contemplation of Material Spheres (rūpavacara):

(i) Detached from sensual objects, detached from unwholesome states of mind, the *yogi* enters and abides in the first absorption, which is accompanied by conscious thought and reasoning, is born of detachment, and is a condition of rapture and happiness.

For the first absorption, five things are absent and five things are present. Absent are the five hindrances (nīvarana): sensual desire, anger, laziness and apathy, restlessness and worry, doubt. Present are conscious thought, reasoning, rapture, happiness, concentration of mind (M xlivi).

(ii) Then, after the subsiding of conscious thought and reasoning has ceased, gaining inner tranquillity and oneness of mind, the *yogi* enters and abides in the second absorption, which is without conscious thought and reasoning, is born of detachment, and is a state of rapture and happiness.

(iii) Then, after the fading away of rapture the *yogi* abides in equanimity and remains mindful with clear awareness of the third absorption, of whom the aryan sages say: 'Happy is he, concentrated, with equanimity.'

(iv) Then, giving up happiness, giving up sorrow, former joys and pains disappear, and the *yogi* enters into the fourth absorption which is a state beyond pleasure and pain—pure concentration with equanimity.

Contemplation of the Immaterial (arūpavacara):

(v) *When the yogi, by passing entirely beyond the sphere of perceptions, becomes absorbed in the idea 'Space is unending', he attains the sphere of infinite space.*

(vi) *When the yogī, by passing entirely beyond the sphere of infinite space, becomes absorbed in the idea 'Consciousness is unending', he attains the sphere of infinite consciousness.*

(vii) *When the yogī, by passing entirely beyond the sphere of infinite consciousness, becomes absorbed in the idea 'There is nothing', he attains the sphere of nothingness.*

(viii) *The yogī, by passing entirely beyond the sphere of nothingness, attains the sphere of neither perception nor non-perception.*

SUBJECTS FOR CONTEMPLATION

'Within this very body, mortal as it is and only a fathom in length, with its sense-impressions and conscious mind, is the world, and the origin thereof, and the ceasing thereof, and the Way leading to that ceasing.'

* * *

'Everything that is subject to origination is also subject to cessation.'

* * *

The Middle Way is the way between optimism and pessimism.

* * *

'There is an unborn, an unbecome, an unmade, an uncompounded; if there were not, there would be no escape from the born, the become, the made, the compounded.'

* * *

Prejudice is the fuel which keeps the fire of life burning.

* * *

Right speech generally means less speech.

* * *

Nothing is permanent: everything changes.

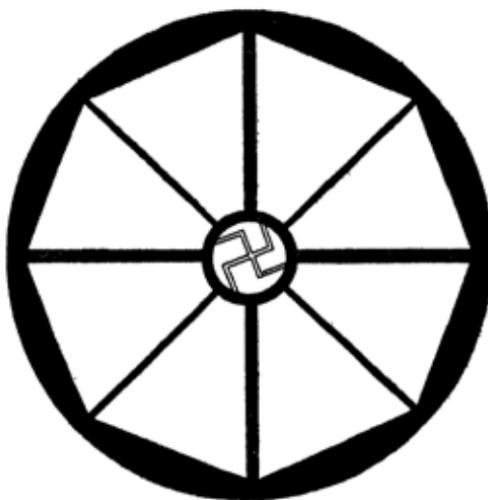
* * *

Perfect yourself so that you may help others to perfect themselves.

* * *

Programme for a year's meditation is set out in my "BUDDHA'S WORDS OF WISDOM"; George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

THE WHEEL



Symbol of the Disciples of Gotama. (No Buddha images were made until 400 or 500 years after Gotama.) The most characteristic sign of Buddhist thought and doctrine: representative of the *dhamma cakka* (*dharma cakra*), the conquering Wheel of the Law set going by Gotama Buddha and maintained by his disciples; the *cakra*—first of the Seven Jewels, symbol of universal rule—has the special power of subduing all rivals, and the concept of setting in motion the Wheel of the Norm is the adaptation of it to the spiritual reign of the sovereign of the sublime *Dharma*. Representative also of *paticcasamuppāda*, the causal formula, and the working of the personal process (= swastika) that ceases only at *Nibbāna*—the 'Wheel of Becoming': *samsāra*, the perpetual Round of Rebirth; of *anicca*, inevitable Change, one of the characteristics of all life.

The four thick spokes = four Aryan Truths: (1) sorrow, (2) cause of sorrow, (3) ending of sorrow, (4) the Way to end sorrow = Eightfold Path: eight spokes (right 1 views, 2 mindedness, 3 speech, 4 action, 5 livelihood, 6 effort, 7 mindfulness, 8 concentration). Also causal formula: eight spokes (1 consciousness, 2 impression, 3 feeling, 4 craving, 5 clinging, 6 becoming, 7 rebirth, 8 death).

APPENDIX B

THE PĀLI ALPHABET

The Pāli alphabet consists of the following 41 letters:

8 vowels:	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	o
33 consonants:	k	kh	g	gh	ñ			
	c	ch	j	jh	ñ			
	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ			
	t	th	d	dh	n			
	p	ph	b	bh	m			
	y	r	l	v	s	h	!	ṁ

Pronunciation: a as a in *America*, ā as a in *ardent*;
i as i in *simple*, ī as e in *easy*;
u as u in *under*, ū as u in *rule*;
e as a in *able*, o as o in *ode*.

K and g are always hard; c like ch in *church*; ṭ, ḍ and ḡ nearly like English t, d and n, but with the tip of the tongue turned back, whereas t, d and n are pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the upper front teeth; y as y in *yes*; s as s in *sigh*; ñ like ng in *song*; ṡ—the *niggahita*—is now pronounced similarly, though once it indicated nasalization of the vowel as in French.

The remaining consonants are pronounced in the same way that they are in English; kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh, th, dh, ph, bh as k, g, c, j, t, ḍ, d, p and b respectively, but aspirated.

APPENDIX C

PĀLI COMMENTARIAL LITERATURE

The following are the most important items of the vast commentarial and allied literature that came after the Pāli Canon.

A. Pāli exegeses:

Milinda Pañha (second or first century B.C.; included in the Siamese Canon).

Nettipakaraṇa, by Kassayana (first century C.E.).

B. The Sinhala commentaries, compendia, and other Ceylonese sources of the (later) Pāli commentaries:

Abhidhammāṭṭhakathā

Ācariya, Ācariyamata, Ācariyavāda

Agamāṭṭhakathā

Andhakāṭṭhakathā

Ānguttarāṭṭhakathā

Āṭṭhakathā (various)

Āṭṭhakathācariyā

Bhāṇakā

Dīghāṭṭhakathā

Kurundīāṭṭhakathā

Mahāṭṭhakathā, Mūlāṭṭhakathā

Mahāpaccariyāṭṭhakathā

Majjhimāṭṭhakathā

Parasamuddavāsitherā

Porāṇa, Porāṇācariyā, Porāṇākatherā, Porāṇāṭṭhakathā

Samkhepaṭṭhakathā

Samyuttāṭṭhakathā

Sihalāṭṭhakathā

Suttantāṭṭhakathā

Therasallāpa

Vinayāṭṭhakathā

Vitanḍavādī.

C. Notable Ceylonese chronicles, in Sinhala and Pāli; from before the fifth century C.E.:

Cullavāmsa

Dāṭhāvāmsa

Dīpavāmsa

Mahāvāmsa

Mahābodhivāmsa

Sāsanavāmsa.

D. The Pāli commentaries; from c. fifth century C.E.:

COM.	TEXT	AUTHOR
Atthasālinī	Dhammasaṅgaṇī	Buddhaghosa (?)
Dhammapadāṭṭhakathā	Dhammapada	„ (?)
Jātakāṭṭhakathā	Jātaka	„ (?)
Kankhāvitaranī	Pāṭimokkha	„ (?)
Madhurāṭṭhavilāsī	Buddhavamsa	Buddhadatta
Manorathapūranī	Āṅguttara Nikāya	Buddhaghosa (?)
Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā	Dhk, Kvu, Pat, Pug, Yam of Abhidhamma	„ (?)
Papañcasūdanī	Majjhima Nikāya	„ (?)
Paramaṭṭhadīpanī	Cp, It, Pv, Ta, Ti, Ud, Vv of Khuddaka Nikāya	Dhammapāla
Paramaṭṭhajotikā	Khuddakapāṭha and Suttanipāṭa	Bhuddaghosa (?)
Saddhammapajotikā	Niddesa	Upasena
Saddhammappakāsinī	Paṭisambhidāmagga	Mahānāma
Samantapāśādikā	Vinaya Piṭaka	Buddhaghosa
Sāratthappakāsinī	Samyutta Nikāya	„ (?)
Sumangalavilāsī	Dīgha Nikāya	„ (?)
Visuddhajanavilāsī	Apadāna	„ (???)
Visuddhimagga	(various)	„

E. The principal Pāli subcommentaries; from sixth century C.E.:

SUB-COM.	COM.	AUTHOR
Maktika	Atthasālinī, Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā, Sammohavinodanī	Ananda Vanarataṇa
Paramathamañjusā	Visuddhimagga	
Sāratthadīpanī	Samantapāśādikā	Dhammapāla Sāriputta
Sāratthamañjusā	Manorathapūranī, Papañcasūdanī, Sāratthappakāsinī, Sumangalavilāsī	

F. Notable Abhidhamma compendia:

Sacca-Saṅkhepa, by Dhammapāla
Abhidhammāṭṭha Saṅgaha, by Anuruddha.

APPENDIX D

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF THE PRINCIPAL SECTIONS AND SUTTAS OF THE PĀLI CANON

(Glossary of abbreviations used in the following reference list: A = Aṅguttara Nikāya; AP = Abhidhamma Piṭaka; D = Dīgha Nikāya; Dp = Dhammapada; K = Khuddaka Nikāya; KK = Khandhaka; Kp = Khuddaka Piṭha; M = Majjhima Nikāya; S = Samyutta Nikāya; Sn = Sutta Nipāta; SP = Sutta Piṭaka; SV = Sutta Vibhaṅga; Ud = Udāna; VP = Vinaya Piṭaka.

Example: 'Khaggavisāṇa Sutta SP K Sn i 3' = *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta: Sutta Piṭaka—Khuddaka Nikāya—Sutta Nipāta—Vagga i—Sutta No. 3.*

Abhayarājākumāra Sutta	SP	M	lviii
Abhidhamma Piṭaka			The 3rd of the 3 piṭakas
Abhisamaya Samyutta	SP	S	ii 2
Acchāriyābbhutadhamma Sutta	SP	M	cxxiii
Adhikaraṇasamathā Dhammā	VP	SV	(group of rules)
Aggañña Sutta	SP	D	xxvii
Aggi(ka)-Bhāradrāja Sutta	SP	K	Sn i 7
Aggi-Vacchagoṭṭha Sutta	SP	M	bxii
Ajitamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 1
Ākāñkheyya Sutta	SP	M	vi
Alagaddūpama Sutta	SP	M	xxii
Ājavaka Sutta	SP	K	Sn i 10
Āmagandha Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 2
Ambalañchikā-Rāhulovāda Sutta	SP	M	lxi
Ambañtha Sutta	SP	D	iii
Anamatagga Samyutta	SP	S	ii 4
Ānandabhaddekaratta Sutta	SP	M	cxxxii
Anaṅgāṇa Sutta	SP	M	v
Āññāñjasappāya Sutta	SP	M	cvi
Anāpāna Samyutta	SP	S	v 10
Ānāpānasati Sutta	SP	M	cixviii
Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta	SP	M	cxliii
Anattālakkhaṇa Sutta	SP	S	iii 1
Aṅgulimāla Sutta	SP	M	lxxvi
Aṅguttara Nikāya	SP		The 4th of the 5 nikāyas
Anumāna Sutta	SP	M	xv
Anupādā Sutta	SP	M	cxi

Anupādā Vagga	SP	M	12
Anuruddha Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 8
Anuruddha Sutta	SP	M	cxxvii
Apadāna	SP	K	
Āpaṇṇaka Sutta	SP	M	lx
Appamāda Vagga	SP	K	Dp ii
Arahanta Vagga	SP	K	Dp vii
Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta	SP	M	cxxxix
Āriyapariyesana Sutta	SP	M	xxvi
Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta	SP	S	iv 9
Āsevitabba Sutta	SP	M	cxiv
Assalāyana Sutta	SP	M	xciii
Āṭānāṭiya Sutta	SP	D	xxxii
Atta Vagga	SP	K	Dp xii
Attadaṇḍa Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 15
Attakanāgara Sutta	SP	M	lii
Āṭhaka Nipāta	SP	A	viii
Āṭhaka Vagga	SP	K	Sn iv
Avyākata Saṃyutta	SP	S	iv 10
Bāhitikā Sutta	SP	M	lxxxviii
Bahudhātuka Sutta	SP	M	cxv
Bahuvedaniya Sutta	SP	M	lix
Bakkula Sutta	SP	M	cxxiv
Bāla Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 6
Bāla Vagga	SP	K	Dp v
Bālapaṇḍita Sutta	SP	M	cxxix
Bhaddāli Sutta	SP	M	lxv
Bhaddekaratta Sutta	SP	M	cxxxii
Bhadrāvudhamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 12
Bhayabherava Sutta	SP	M	iv
Bhikkhu Saṃyutta	SP	S	ii 10
Bhikkhu Suttavibhaṅga	VP	SV	(1)
Bhikkhu Vagga	SP	M	7
Bhikkhu Vagga	SP	K	Dp xxv
Bhikkhuṇī Saṃyutta	SP	S	i 5
Bhikkhuṇī Suttavibhaṅga	VP	SV	(2)
Bhūmija Sutta	SP	M	cxxvi
Bodhi Vagga	SP	K	Ud i
Bodhirājakuṇāra Sutta	SP	M	lxxxv
Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 2
Brahma Saṃyutta	SP	S	i 6
Brahmajāla Sutta	SP	D	i

Brāhmaṇa Saṃyutta	SP	S	i	7
Brāhmaṇa Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xxvi
Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta	SP	K	Sn	ii 7
Brāhmaṇimantaṇika Sutta	SP	M		xlix
Brahmāyu Sutta	SP	M		xci
Buddha Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xiv
Buddha Vamsa	SP	K		
Cakkavattisihanāda Sutta	SP	D		xxvi
Cañki Sutta	SP	M		xcv
Cariyā Piṭaka	SP	K		
Cattārisaka Sutta	SP	M		cxvii
Catukka Nipāta	SP	A		iv
Cātumā Sutta	SP	M		lxvii
Cetokhila Sutta	SP	M		xvi
Chabbisodana Sutta	SP	M		cxii
Chachakka Sutta	SP	M		cxlviii
Chakka Nipāta	SP	A		vi
Channovāda Sutta	SP	M		cxdv
Citta Saṃyutta	SP	S	iv	7
Citta Vagga	SP	K	Dp	iii
Culla Assapura Sutta	SP	M		xl
Culla Dhammasamādāna Sutta	SP	M		xlv
Culla Dukkhakhandha Sutta	SP	M		xiv
Culla Gopālaka Sutta	SP	M		xxxiv
Culla Gosiṅga Sutta	SP	M		xxxii
Culla Hatthipadopama Sutta	SP	M		xxvii
Culla Kammavibhaṅga Sutta	SP	M		cxix
Culla Māluṅya Sutta	SP	M		xliii
Culla Niddesa	SP	K		
Culla Punnama Sutta	SP	M		cx
Culla Rāhulovāda Sutta	SP	M		cxlvi
Culla Saccaka Sutta	SP	M		xxxv
Culla Sakuludāyi Sutta	SP	M		lxxix
Culla Sāropama Sutta	SP	M		xxx
Culla Sihanāda Sutta	SP	M		xi
Culla Suññatā Sutta	SP	M		cxxi
Culla Taṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta	SP	M		xxxvii
Culla Vagga	VP	KK	(2)	
Culla Vagga	SP	K	Ud	vii
Culla Vagga	SP	K	Sn	ii
Culla Vedalla Sutta	SP	M		xliv
Culla Viyūha Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iv 12

Culla Yamaka Vagga	SP	M	5
Cunda Sutta	SP	K	Sn i 5
Dakkhināvibhaṅga Sutta	SP	M	cxlii
Daṇḍa Vagga	SP	K	Dp x
Dantabhūmi Sutta	SP	M	cxxxv
Dasaka Nipāta	SP	A	x
Dasasikhāpada	SP	K	Kp (2)
Dasuttara Sutta	SP	D	xxxiv
Devadaha Sutta	SP	M	ci
Devadaha Vagga	SP	M	ii
Devadūta Sutta	SP	M	cxxx
Devaputta Saṃyutta	SP	S	i 2
Devatā Saṃyutta	SP	S	i 1
Dhamma Saṅgañī	AP	i	
Dhamma Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 8
Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta	SP	S	v 12
Dhammacariyā Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 6
Dhammacetiya Sutta	SP	M	lxxxix
Dhammadāyāda Sutta	SP	M	iii
Dhammapada	SP	K	
Dhammattha Vagga	SP	K	Dp xix
Dhammika Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 14
Dhānañjāni Sutta	SP	K	x 7
Dhaniya Sutta	SP	K	Sn i 2
Dhātu Katha	AP	iii	
Dhātu Saṃyutta	SP	S	ii 3
Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta	SP	M	cxl
Dhotakamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 5
Digha Nikāya	SP	The 1st of the 5 <i>nikāyas</i>	
Dighanakha Sutta	SP	M	lxxiv
Diṭṭhi Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii 3
Duka Nipāta	SP	A	ii
Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 3
Dvattirūpākāra	SP	K	Kp (3)
Dvayatānupassanā Sutta	SP	K	Sn iii 12
Dvedhāvitakka Sutta	SP	M	xix
Eka Nipāta	SP	A	i
Ekadasaha Nipāta	SP	A	xi
Esukāri Sutta	SP	M	xcvi
Gahapati Vagga	SP	M	6
Gāmani Saṃyutta	SP	S	iv 8

Gaṇaka Moggallāna Sutta	SP	M	cvii
Gandhabbakāya Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii 10
Ghaṭikāra Sutta	SP	M	lxxxi
Ghoṭamukla Sutta	SP	M	xciv
Gopaka Moggallāna Sutta	SP	M	cviii
Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 2
Guṇissāni Sutta	SP	M	lxix
Hemakamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 8
Hemavata Sutta	SP	K	Sn i 9
Hiri Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 3
Iddhipāda Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 7
Indriya Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 4
Indriyabhāvanā Sutta	SP	M	clii
Isigili Sutta	SP	M	cxvi
Iti Vuttaka	SP	K	
Jaccandha Vagga	SP	K	Ud vi
Jāliya Sutta	SP	D	vii
Jambukhadaka Saṃyutta	SP	S	iv 4
Janavasabha Sutta	SP	D	xviii
Jarā Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 6
Jarā Vagga	SP	K	Dp xi
Jātaka	SP	K	
Jatukaṇṇimāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 11
Jhāna Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 9
Jīvaka Sutta	SP	M	lv
Kaccānabhaddekaratta Sutta	SP	M	cxoxiii
Kakacūpama Sutta	SP	M	xxi
Kalakavivāda Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 11
Kāma Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 1
Kaṇḍaraka Sutta	SP	M	li
Kaṇṇakatthala Sutta	SP	M	xc
Kapila Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 6
Kappamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 10
Kassapa Saṃyutta	SP	S	ii 5
Kassapasihanāda Sutta	SP	D	viii
Kathā Vatthu	AP	V	
Kāyagatāsati Sutta	SP	M	cxix
Kāyavicchandanika Sutta	SP	K	Sn i 11
Kevaddha Sutta	SP	D	xi

Khaggavisāṇa Sutta	SP	K	Sn	i	3
Khandha Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii	i	
Khandha Vagga	SP	S	iii		
Kandhaka	VP				
Khuddaka Nikāya	SP		The 5th of the 5	<i>nikāyas</i>	
Khuddaka Pāṭha	SP	K			
Kilesa Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii	6	
Kimśila Sutta	SP	K	Sn	ii	9
Kinti Sutta	SP	M	ciii		
Kiṭāgiri Sutta	SP	M	lxx		
Kodha Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xvii	
Kokālika Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iii	10
Kokāliya Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iii	10
Kosala Saṃyutta	SP	S	i	3	
Kosambīya Sutta	SP	M	xlviii		
Kukkuravatika Sutta	SP	M	lvii		
Kumārapañihā	SP	K	Kp	(4)	
Kūṭadanta Sutta	SP	D	v		
Lābhakkāra Saṃyutta	SP	S	ii	6	
Lakkhaṇa Saṃyutta	SP	S	ii	8	
Lakkhaṇa Sutta	SP	D	xxx		
Laṭukikopama Sutta	SP	M	lxvi		
Lohicca Sutta	SP	D	xii		
Loka Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xiii	
Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta Sutta	SP	M	cxxiv		
Madhura Sutta	SP	M	lxxiv		
Madhupiṇḍikā Sutta	SP	M	xviii		
Māgandiya Sutta	SP	M	lxxv		
Māgandiya Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iv	9
Magga Saṃyutta	SP	S	v	i	
Magga Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xx	
Māgha Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iii	5
Mahā Assapura Sutta	SP	M	xxxix		
Mahā Cattārīsaka Sutta	SP	M	cxvii		
Mahā Dhammasamādāna Sutta	SP	M	lvi		
Mahā Dukkhakkhandha Sutta	SP	M	xiii		
Mahā Gopālaka Sutta	SP	M	xxxiii		
Mahā Gosiṅga Sutta	SP	M	xxxii		
Mahā Govinda Sutta	SP	D	xix		
Mahā Hatthipadopama Sutta	SP	M	xxviii		
Mahā Kaccānabhaddekaratta Sutta	SP	M	cxxxiii		

Mahā Kammavibhaṅga Sutta	SP	M	cxxxvi
Mahā Mālūnkyā Sutta	SP	M	lxiv
Mahā Maṅgala Sutta	SP	K	Kp (5)
Mahā Maṅgala Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 4
Mahā Nidāna Sutta	SP	D	xv
Mahā Niddesa	SP	K	
Mahā Parinibbāṇa Sutta	SP	D	xvi
Mahā Puṇṇama Sutta	SP	M	cix
Mahā Rāhulovāda Sutta	SP	M	xlii
Mahā Saccaka Sutta	SP	M	xxxvi
Mahā Sakuludāyi Sutta	SP	M	lxxix
Mahā Saṅyatanika Sutta	SP	M	cxlii
Mahā Samaya Sutta	SP	D	xx
Mahā Samaya Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 13
Mahā Sāropama Sutta	SP	M	xxix
Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta	SP	D	xxii
Mahā Sihanāda Sutta	SP	M	xii
Mahā Sudassana Sutta	SP	D	xvii
Maha Suññatā Sutta	SP	M	cxxii
Mahā Taṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta	SP	M	xxxviii
Mahā Vacchagotta Sutta	SP	M	lxiii
Mahā Vagga	VP	KK	(1)
Mahā Vagga	SP	D	2
Mahā Vagga	SP	S	v
Mahā Vagga	SP	K	Sn iii
Mahā Veddalla Sutta	SP	M	xliii
Mahā Viyūha Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 13
Mahāli Sutta	SP	D	vi
Mahāpadāna Sutta	SP	D	xiv
Mahayamaka Vagga	SP	M	4
Majjhima Nikāya	SP		The 2nd of the 5 <i>nikāyas</i>
Makhādeva Sutta	SP	M	lxxxiii
Mala Vagga	SP	K	Dp xviii
Maṅgala Sutta	SP	K	Kp (5)
Maṅgala Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 4
Māra Samyutta	SP	S	i 4
Māratajjaniya Sutta	SP	M	1
Mātugāma Samyutta	SP	S	iv 3
Meghiya Vagga	SP	K	Ud iv
Mettā Sutta	SP	K	Kp (9)
Mettā Sutta	SP	K	Sn i 8
Mettagūmāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 4
Moggallāna Samyutta	SP	S	iv 6

Mogharājamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn	v	15
Moneyya Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iii	11
Mucalinda Vagga	SP	K	Ud	ii	
Mūlapariyāya Sutta	SP	M		i	
Mūlapariyāya Vagga	SP	M		i	
Muni Sutta	SP	K	Sn	i	12
 Nāga Samyutta	SP	S	iii	8	
Nāga Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xxiii	
Nagaravindeyya Sutta	SP	M	cl		
Nālaka Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iii	11
Nājakapāna Sutta	SP	M	lxviii		
Nanda Vagga	SP	K	Ud	iii	
Nandakovada Sutta	SP	M	cxlvi		
Nandamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn	v	7
Nāvā Sutta	SP	K	Sn	ii	8
Navaka Nipāta	SP	A	ix		
Nidāna Samyutta	SP	S	ii	i	
Nidāna Vagga	SP	S	ii		
Niddesa	SP	K			
Nidhikāṇḍa Sutta	SP	K	Kp	(8)	
Nigrodha Kappa Sutta	SP	K	Sn	ii	6
Niraya Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xxii	
Nissaggiya	VP	SV	(group of rules)		
Nivāpa Sutta	SP	M	xxv		
 Okkantika Samyutta	SP	S	iii	4	
Opamma Samyutta	SP	S	ii	9	
Opamma Vagga	SP	M	3		
 Pabbajjā Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iii	1
Pācittiya	VP	SV	(group of rules)		
Padhāna Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iii	2
Pakiṇṇaka Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xxi	
Pañcaka Nipāta	SP	A	v		
Pañcāttaya Sutta	SP	M	cii		
Pañḍita Vagga	SP	K	Dp	vi	
Pāpa Vagga	SP	K	Dp	ix	
Pārājika	VP	SV	(group of rules)		
Paramaṭṭhaka Sutta	SP	K	Sn	i	6
Pārāyana Vagga	SP	K	Sn	v	
Paribbājaka Vagga	SP	M	8		
Parivāra	VP				

Pāsādika Sutta	SP	D	xxix
Pasūra Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 8
Pāṭaligamiya Vagga	SP	K	Ud viii
Pāṭidesaniya	VP	SV	(group of rules)
Pāṭika Sutta	SP	D	xxiv
Pāṭika Vagga	SP	D	3
Patisambhidā Magga	SP	K	
Paṭṭhāna	AP	viii	
Pāyāsi Sutta	SP	D	xxiii
Peta Vatthu	SP	K	
Piṇḍapāṭapārisuddhi Sutta	SP	M	cli
Pingiyamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 16
Piya Vagga	SP	K	Dp xvi
Piyajātika Sutta	SP	M	lxxvii
Posālamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 14
Potaliya Sutta	SP	M	liv
Poṭṭhapāda Sutta	SP	D	ix
Puggala Paññatti	AP	iv	
Puṇṇakamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn v 3
Puṇṇovāda Sutta	SP	M	cxlv
Puppha Vagga	SP	K	Dp iv
Parābheda Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 10
Pūrajāsa Sutta	SP	K	Sn iii 4
Radha Samyutta	SP	S	iii 2
Rāhula Samyutta	SP	S	ii 7
Rāhula Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 11
Rāja Vagga	SP	M	9
Ratana Sutta	SP	K	Kp (6)
Ratana Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 1
Rathavinita Sutta	SP	K	xxiv
Raṭṭhapāla Sutta	SP	M	lxxii
Sabbāsava Sutta	SP	M	ii
Sabhiya Sutta	SP	K	Sn iii 6
Sacca Samyutta	SP	S	v 12
Saccavibhaṅga Sutta	SP	M	ccli
Sagātha Vagga	SP	S	i
Sahassa Vagga	SP	K	Dp viii
Sakka Samyutta	SP	S	i ii
Sakkapāñha Sutta	SP	D	xxi
Salāyatana Samyutta	SP	S	iv 1
Salāyatana Vagga	SP	M	15

Saṭṭayatana Vagga	SP	S	iv
Saṭṭayatanavibhaṅga Sutta	SP	M	cxxxvii
Saleyyaka Sutta	SP	M	xli
Salla Sutta	SP	K	Sn iii 8
Sallekha Sutta	SP	M	viii
Samādhi Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii 13
Sāmagāma Sutta	SP	M	civ
Sāmaṇamaṇḍikā Sutta	SP	M	lxxviii
Samandaka Saṃyutta	SP	S	iv 5
Sāmaññaphala Sutta	SP	D	ii
Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta	SP	M	ix
Sammāparibhājaniya Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 13
Sammāppadhana Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 5
Sampasādanīya Sutta	SP	D	xxviii
Saṃyutta Nikāya	SP		The 3rd of the 5 <i>nikāyas</i>
Sandaka Sutta	SP	M	lxxviii
Saṅgārava Sutta	SP	M	c
Saṅghādisesa	VP	SV	(group of rules)
Saṅgīti Sutta	SP	D	xxxiii
Saṅghāruppatti Sutta	SP	M	cxx
Sappurisa Sutta	SP	M	cxiii
Saraṇattaya	SP	K	Kp (1)
Sāriputta Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii 7
Sāriputta Sutta	SP	K	Sn iv 16
Sātāgira Sutta	SP	K	Sn i 9
Satipaṭṭhāna Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 3
Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta	SP	M	x
Sattaka Nipāta	SP	A	vii
Sekha Sutta	SP	M	liii
Sekhiya	VP	SV	(group of rules)
Sela Sutta	SP	M	xcii
Sela Sutta	SP	K	Sn iii 7
Sevitabbāsevitabba Sutta	SP	M	cxiv
Sigālovāda Sutta	SP	D	xxxii
Sihānāda Vagga	SP	M	2
Silakkhandha Vagga	SP	D	i
Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta	SP	D	iv
Sonatherassa Vagga	SP	K	Ud v
Sotāpatti Saṃyutta	SP	S	v 11
Subha Sutta	SP	D	x
Subha Sutta	SP	M	xcix
Subhāsita Sutta	SP	K	Sn iii 3
Sūcīloma Sutta	SP	K	Sn ii 5

Suddhaṭṭhaka Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iv	4
Sukha Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xv	
Sunakkhatta Sutta	SP	M	cv		
Sundarika-Bhāradvāja Sutta	SP	K	Sn	ii	13
Suññatā Vagga	SP	M		13	
Supaṇṇa Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii	9	
Sutta Nipāta	SP	K			
Sutta Piṭaka	The 2nd of the 3 <i>piṭakas</i>				
Sutta Vibhaṅga	VP				
Tapha Vagga	SP	K	Dp	xxiv	
Tevijja Sutta	SP	D	xiii		
Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta	SP	M	lxxi		
Thera Gāthā	SP	K			
Therapañha Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iv	16
Theri Gāthā	SP	K			
Tika Nipāta	SP	A	iii		
Tirokuḍḍa Sutta	SP	K	Kp	(7)	
Tissa Metteyya Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iv	7
Tissametteyyamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn	v	2
Todeyyamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn	v	9
Tuvaṭaka Sutta	SP	K	Sn	iv	14
Udāna	SP	K			
Udayamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn	v	13
Uddesavibhaṅga Sutta	SP	M	cxxxviii		
Udumbarikāsihanāda Sutta	SP	D	xxv		
Upakkilesa Sutta	SP	M	cxxviii		
Upāli Sutta	SP	M	lvi		
Upasivamāṇava Pucchā	SP	K	Sn	v	6
Uppāda Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii	5	
Uraka Sutta	SP	K	Sn	i	1
Uraka Vagga	SP	K	Sn	i	
Uṭṭhāna Sutta	SP	K	Sn	ii	10
Vacchagotta Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii	12	
Valaka Saṃyutta	SP	S	iii	11	
Vammīka Sutta	SP	M	xxiii		
Vana Saṃyutta	SP	S	i	9	
Vanapattha Sutta	SP	M	xvii		
Vaṅgīsa Saṃyutta	SP	S	i	8	
Vaṅgīsa Sutta	SP	K	Sn	ii	12
Vasala Sutta	SP	K	Sn	i	7

Vāsetṭha Sutta	SP	M	xcviii
Vāsetṭha Sutta	SP	K	Sn iii 9
Vatthūpama Sutta	SP	M	vii
Vedanā Saṃyutta	SP	S	iv 2
Vekhanassa Sutta	SP	M	lxxx
Verañjaka Sutta	SP	M	xlii
Vibhaṅga	AP	ii	
Vibhaṅga Vagga	SP	M	14
Vijaya Sutta	SP	K	Sn i ii
Vimāṇsaka Sutta	SP	M	xlvii
Vimāṇa Vatthu	SP	K	
Vinaya Piṭaka	The 1st of the 3 <i>piṭakas</i>		
Vitakkasanthāna Sutta	SP	M	xx
Yakkha Saṃyutta	SP	S	i 10
Yamaka	AP	vi	
Yamaka Vagga	SP	K	Dp i

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ABBREVIATIONS

A—Aṅguttara Nikāya	P—Pāli; page
AP—Abhidhamma Piṭaka	Pat—Pāṭṭhāna
BC—Before Christ	PED—Pāli-English Dictionary of the PTS
BD—‘Book of the Discipline’ = VP	PTS—Pali Text Society
Br Up—Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad	Pug—Puggala Paññatti
CE—Christian Era	Pv—Peta Vatthu
Ch Up—Chāndogya Upanishad	S—Samyutta Nikāya
Com—Commentary	SBB—Sacred Books of the Buddhists
Cp—Cariyā-piṭaka	SBE—Sacred Books of the East
CV—Culla Vagga (VP)	Skt—Sanskrit
D—Dīgha Nikāya	Sn—Sutta Nipāta
Dhk—Dhātu Katha	SP—Sutta Piṭaka
Dp—Dhammapada	Su—Sutta; Sū—Sūtra
Dial—‘Dialogues of the Buddha’ = D	SV—Sutta Vibhaṅga
fn—footnote	Ta—Thera Gāthā
It—Iti Vuttaka	Ti—Therī Gāthā
K—Khuddaka Nikāya	Ud—Udāna
KK—Khandhaka	Up—Upanishad
Kp—Khuddaka Pāṭha	Vin—Vinaya
Kvu—Kathā Vatthu	VP—Vinaya Piṭaka
M—Majjhima Nikāya	vs—verse(s)
MV—Mahā Vagga (VP)	Vv—Vimāna Vatthu
	Yam—Yamaka

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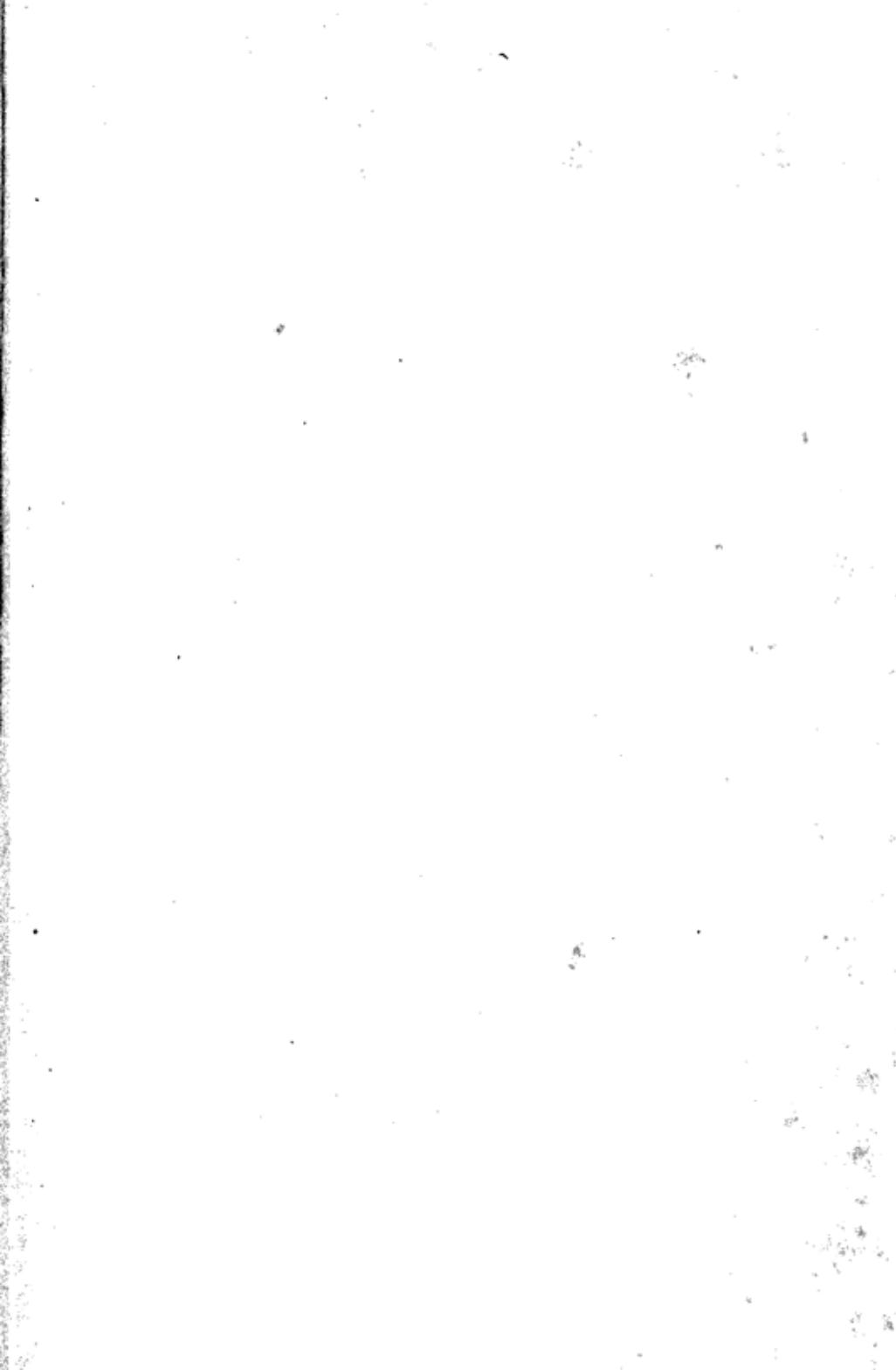
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